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Marlies Heinz

Kamid el-Loz

4000 years and more of rural and urban life in the Lebanese Beqa‘a plain



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The Lebanese British Friends of the National Museum

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Foreword

In 2011, we undertook our last excavation at Kamid el-Loz to date. The interruption of our work is due to the political situation in the entire area. Not working at Kamid el-Loz, however, does not mean not working on Kamid el-Loz. My decision was thus in 2012 to begin writing the present book. This writing kept me associated every day with our friends and colleagues from Kamid el-Loz and Lebanon, the atmosphere of collegial cooperation, our jokes at work, Ahmed's good coffee, and the friendliness of our neighbors, villagers, and visitors – in short, the writing made me feel as if I were at home at Kamid el-Loz. Every summer since 2011, I have come to Kamid el-Loz, happy to be back again, and learned that we still have to be patient and wait until we can start again.

The present book is also the redemption of a promise given to our colleagues at the site, to the visitors, and to the residents of today's Kamid el-Loz to write a report about what we discovered together during our joint work at Kamid el-Loz.

The writing of this book was possible only because many people made sure that the excavation at Kamid el-Loz was at all practicable.

The permit to excavate at Kamid el-Loz was given to us by the National Department of Antiquities of Lebanon, Beirut, Lebanon. It became possible through the support of the Albert Ludwig University, Freiburg, Germany, and by the help of the German Embassy, Beirut, Lebanon. From the very beginning, the mayor's office of Kamid el-Loz supported us as well.

The National Department of Antiquities in Beirut, Lebanon, set up both of the houses we use on-site. The German Embassy and the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin, Germany, have assumed the costs for the informational signs on-site. We have been sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bonn, Germany, and by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung, Düsseldorf, Germany.

Institutions make such an archaeological venture possible. But it is always individuals working for the institutions that take care of the details and ensure that everything runs smoothly. For this care, I am grateful to Camille Asmar, former director of the National Museum, and Suzy Hakimian, curator, who welcomed me to Lebanon when I came to the country for the first time and who made my archaeological work in Lebanon possible. I would like to show my gratitude to Frédéric Husseini, Director of the National Museum; Anne-Marie Afeiche, Tania Zaven, and Assaad Saif from the National Museum / DGA in Beirut; and Helga Seeden and Helene Sader, American University of Beirut, who have been supporting us in so many ways since the very beginning of our work in Lebanon. Recently, Raffi Gergian took over the administrative work for archaeology in the Beqa'a plain, and we are thankful for the care given to Kamid el-Loz.

From the very first day of our arrival in the Beqa'a plain, the residents of Kamid el-Loz have welcomed us warmly into the community, supported us, and helped us in every way. My very special thanks to the community of Kamid el-Loz.

Excavating is hard work. I cannot thank our co-workers from Kamid el-Loz who did this hard work enough. Their experience, their knowledge, and their engagement provided the foundation for our work; only their partner-

ship made our excavations and the writing of the present book possible. For the many happy years of collaboration, I cordially thank all our colleagues from Kamid el-Loz, and I hope that many more years will follow in which we continue to work together.
The other part of the team consists of students and colleagues from Lebanon, Germany, Albania, Austria, France, Italy, Jordan, Switzerland, and the USA who participated in the excavations over the years and who did their share so that the excavation was at all possible! My great thanks to them.
Among our co-workers are some colleagues who joined, helped, and advised us from the very first season: Isa Sati, who organized our work, the housing, and thus us; Aiman Bohamia and Taisir Tahar; and Ali Aswad,† who died far too early. Without these colleagues, our excavation would have been unthinkable. It is Hussein Sati, colleague and instructor, from whom I learned more than I can say about how to work at Kamid el-Loz. Ahmed Anka made the site a garden, a place far more than a place of work, and made us feel at home. "Beit Ghazi," the home given to us by the Ghazi family, was a place of rest and our home for all the years at Kamid el-Loz. How can I ever thank enough for all the help and affection we obtained!
I want to say a special "thank you" to Lisa Kirsch, Christian Krug, Michael Leicht, Julia Linke, and Elisabeth Wagner-Durand, who are among the students and colleagues, who have been members of the team for many years; they have been constructive, creative, and supportive, and each individually has brought new ideas that have contributed significantly to the steady development of the excavation. Hopefully, we will work together for many more years at Kamid el-Loz.
Many thanks for this cooperation.
Excavation is not the only work that goes on at a site. Without friends who took and take care of us, our stay in Lebanon would not have been as it was and is – a very happy one. I want to name three special friends, about whom I may say: We would not have been the team we are if they had not joined us.
Lozika Sati from Kamid el-Loz, is not only our cook but notably our very close friend, who kept us in good spirits in the house; Georges Hanna from Jubb Janin / Beirut and Hassan Yahya from Kamid el-Loz / Beirut, are close friends from the very first meeting we had. Lozika, Georges, and Hassan are our closest friends, the heart of our entire project, they take care of us unremittingly. I cannot express in words how much I and we all owe to them – I can only say that is is a great fortune that we met and that we have stayed together since then.

When the excavation is over, the next stage of work begins, which is writing up the results of our work and publishing them, first in the Lebanese archaeological journal BAAL and then in books on Kamid el-Loz, of which the present book is the first one of several that have yet to be written
Writing also requires support for the writer, and some of the team members mentioned above are also among the team that supports the writing. These are Elisabeth Wagner-Durand, who with utmost patience and experience digitalized all illustrations; Christian Krug, who took most of the pictures; and Michael Leicht, who made the drawings used in the book. Tania Hohwieler and Simon Halama are not yet members of the team in

Kamid el-Loz, but since long our highly valued colleagues at the chair of Near Eastern Archaeology. Tania Hohwieler provided us with all the scans and copies needed for the book and Simon Halama compiled the excellent transformation of the manuscript into the desktop publishing version. Terri Tanaka, Berkeley, USA, managed to transform the German-English draft version of the book into an English version. Lisbeth Bredholt Christensen, our valued colleague from the religious studies was the first critical reader of the entire manuscript. And Claude Doumet-Serhal made it then possible for the book to be published.
To all stated friends and colleagues, I give again my very sincere thanks for their support, especially in stressful times when the deadline was coming closer and closer.
Of course it goes without saying that errors in the book are the responsibility of the author; that applies also to all subsequent modifications of the text and any imprecision in the translation.
We worked at Kamid el-Loz for many years; let us hope that many seasons of excavating together will follow. Many, many people made our stay at Kamid el-Loz fruitful – fruitful in our scientific insights but especially, particularly, and above all rich in the human relationships we experienced.
For all this contribution, friendship, and collegiality let me express again my very many thanks.
One last word must be said: That all this travel, excavation, and research was possible for me personally is last but not least due to one person – Michael Leicht.
For countless years of support and togetherness and critiques and debates, I thank Michael Leicht with all my heart.

Freiburg, 07.09.2015

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I.
Objectives of the Book and Introductory Considerations

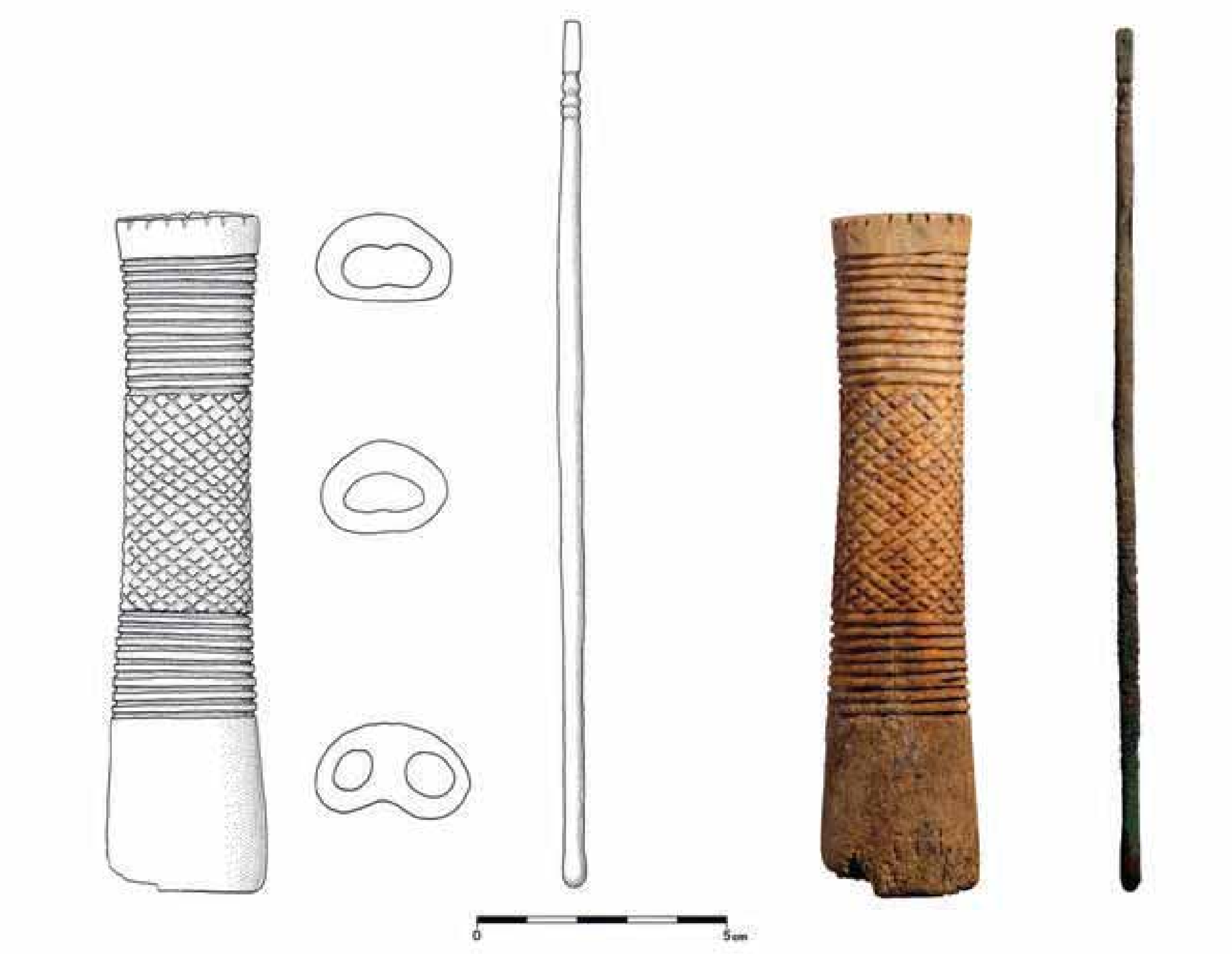
1. Why this study, why archaeology and excavations at all?

The present book is primarily written for our colleagues from Kamid el-Loz with whom we, the different teams that have been coming to the village since 1997, are excavating the correspondent archaeological site, located in the center of the today's village. It is written for the residents of Kamid el-Loz who treat us as members of the village and who constantly accompany us and support our work in manifold ways. It is written for all interested in archaeology, for the visitors who come to the site, for the responsive students and colleagues, who all together are showing their interest in our work and asking us what we are doing and why we are doing what we do! Over the course of many years, during the many talks we have had on site, it turns out that some questions are asked and some topics are addressed repeatedly. Among these are questions about why archaeology is at all necessary (chapter I.1); what archaeologists actually do (chapter I.1.1); and why we have chosen Kamid el-Loz for our excavations (chapter I.1.2).

Archaeology is a historical, social, and anthropological science dealing with humans. The reason for any excavation should thus be an interest in the life of people. To understand how human societies evolve and how the present world developed and to explain why at certain times and in certain regions people live according to given sets of social, cultural, religious, political, and economic rules is the task of and the common thread running through all archaeological research. Archaeology is thus the science that constantly creates links between people currently living and the past. Archaeological research explores and tries to explain how, by whom, and why certain modes of life emerge throughout history and consequently enables people today to scrutinize the "how and why" of (and thus the history of and range of alternatives to) their own current way of life (see chapter I.1.2 and chapter I.1.2.1).

1.1 Archaeologists excavate things and (re-)construct the history of humans based on objects: How does this work?

The man-made world, the objects, and the architecture – things – present materialized aspects of human thinking and action, of the needs and options people had, of the social, cultural, and religious order, of political events, and of economic facts. The challenge of archaeological research is to find out what kind of things and contexts resulted from which kind of human action, from which kind of social, cultural, and religious regulations, and from which kind of political and economic developments. The questions we ask include how and why the things we excavate were needed, produced, used, owned, given away, destroyed, or even finally discarded. The objectives of archaeological research are thus to gain insights into the conditions under which people were living, acting, and producing in the past – and to explain what this knowledge about past societies means for



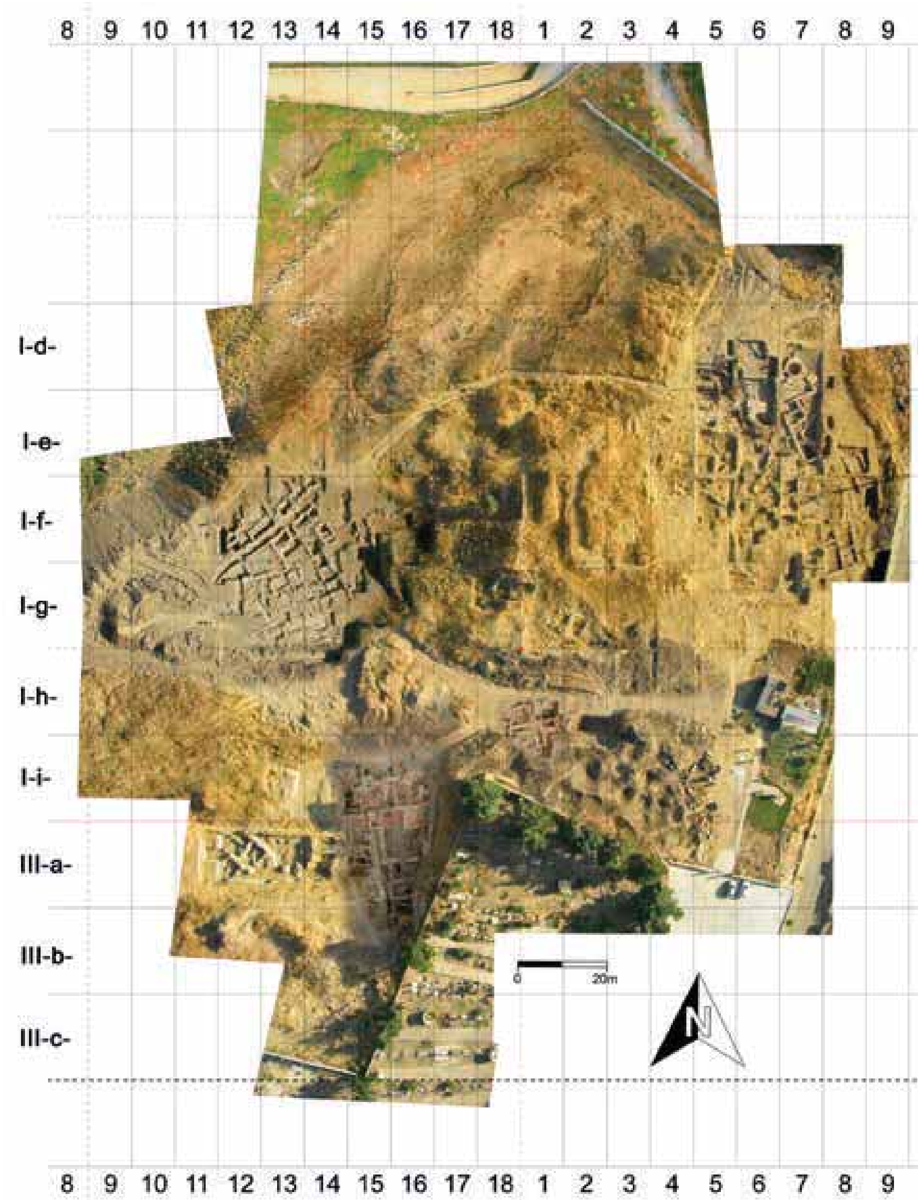
▲ Fig. 1: Example of an artifact: engraved bone container and bronze stick (Late Bronze Age). Source: Archive Heinz.

us living today. Not all human action, however, is revealed in the material heritage, and not all elements of the ancient material world survive. We archaeologists have to bear in mind these "missing links" when we try to (re-)construct the modes of life in the past. But despite the fact that the legacies are not completely preserved, the variety of sources that we have at our disposal as archaeologists is remarkable. The sources can be divided into roughly four significant categories: first, artifacts including architecture and texts; second, organic remains; and third, traces. The fourth category is different – it is not "things" but burials.

Artifacts in the broadest sense are all those objects that humans made intentionally. The objects, tools, and inventories archaeologists excavate reveal the knowledge, the cognitive capacities, and the technical and craft skills that the people had in the past.

Architecture and spatial design reveal, inter alia, what needs and options the settlers had to provide shelter for themselves and the variety of communal functions at a given time. The needed, wanted, or permitted spatial structure of neighborhoods is illustrated by the spatial design, a highly visible expression of the concepts of corporate and political organization.

Artifacts, architecture, and spatial design together, however, are more than just mere indicators of the handling of basic needs. They symbolize, according to the insights of the social and cultural sciences, a variety of social, political, economic, and cultural aspects of communal life beyond these primary functions. Archaeologists explore both the artifacts that the settlers



◄ Fig. 2: Architecture and space design in ancient Kamid el-Loz (map by Chr. Krug). Source: Archive Heinz.

created, used, and dropped over the centuries as well as the symbolic sphere of the materialized thinking and actions of people. The artifacts, man-made things, are produced, used, and discarded under specific living conditions. It is these living conditions – the development and the expression of human requirements and courses of action as well as the symbolic issues of thinking and acting – that archaeologists try to capture, based on, and by means of the materialized world, namely the artifacts.

Cuneiform tablets are yet another data source that inform us about communal life in ancient times. The vast majority of texts handed down from the past deal with the requests of political, religious, and economic affairs of the communities, written by order of the local elites. Fewer texts cov-



◄ Fig. 3: Cuneiform tablet KL69:277, a letter of Pharaoh Akhenaton (Late Bronze Age); 6cm x 8,5cm. Source: Hachmann 2012: 22.

er the concerns of everyday life of ordinary people, although those are maintained as well. The analysis of objects and texts together gives archaeologists enlarged insights into the sought-after social relationships.

Organic remains, which come from plants or animals, include remainders from food processing or the use of plants in household activities and animal bones that are leftover from eating – in short, any residues from the use of natural resources. The plant and animal bone remains allow archaeologists to identify the food supply and the spectrum of plants and animals the settlers had at their disposal. All plants and animals need appropriate living conditions; their remains in the archaeological record, therefore, inform us about ancient climatic conditions, soil texture, and rainfall. They enable us to reconstruct the economic activities of the people, whether they hunted and fished, gathered wild plants, cultivated plants, domesticated animals, and perhaps also imported food from neighboring areas; in the case of Kamid el-Loz, for example, fish was imported from the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the study of the kind of animals kept in the settlement potentially inform us about the use of animals in daily life and thus gives us additional insights into the work processes and the knowledge that people had about dealing with animals. The range of plants and animals and the variety of information that archaeologists can extrapolate from them helps to explain why the ancient inhabitants had chosen this particular site for the founding of their settlement.



► Fig. 4: Example of a "trace": burned oak-wood from the palace area (Late Bronze Age; the tape served as a scale). Source: Archive Heinz.

Traces occur in the archaeological record where humans unintentionally have left indications of their activities in the ground. Archaeologists find, for example, remains of ashes in courtyards and open areas, which means that the ancient settlers were using fire, and the ashes are the physical outcome of this action. Animal bones, cut and crushed during slaughter, are left as garbage outside the houses. Animal bones, wood, and stones have been used for making tools, fish hooks, scrapers, needles, hammer stones, and arrows, just to mention a few categories, and these work processes also left traces – splinters and fragments – behind.

Burials are the fourth category of remains of the past. The fact that people took care of the corpses of the dead demonstrates that human bodies were seen as something special, in need of being taken care of. The ways of taking care of the dead differed remarkably throughout the ages and throughout the world. In many cases, the dead received goods which were put into their

graves – jewelry, decorations, weapons, and vessels for food and beverages – possibly hinting at a belief that the deceased had indeed gone into another life, but were still in need of food and their personal property.



◄ Fig. 5: Burial on the east slope (Iron Age). Source: Archive Heinz.

1.2 Why excavate ancient Kamid el-Loz, the archaeological site located in the middle of the today's village of Kamid el-Loz?

Several factors were decisive in choosing Kamid el-Loz for excavation. Initially, the location and size of the hill aroused the archaeologists' interest. The questions of why the village had been located at this specific site and why it developed into one of the largest sites of the region were raised. Upon closer inspection of the area, the great potential of the site becomes clear. Fertile soils, wild game, edible plants, grasslands, water sources, and fish were all available within walking distance of the site. A subsistence

▼ Fig. 6: Kamid el-Loz today, seen from the southwest. The homonymous archaeological site is located between the mosque and the small lake. Source: Archive Heinz.





▲ Fig. 7: Kamid el-Loz – the archaeological site, embedded into the today's village of Kamid el-Loz, seen from the northeast. Source: Archive Heinz.

economy was possible and secure from the very beginning of the settlement's activities – and continues to exist there up to the present day.

The specific geo-strategic location of Kamid el-Loz, the accessibility of the location, and at the same time the option to use the place for executing political and military control of the surrounding land must have been recognized by those who founded and developed the settlement(s). The overland connections made the location of Kamid el-Loz easily accessible from the north and the south. At the same time, the location was separated from its western and eastern hinterlands by the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains.

Amenability, demarcation, and protection thus characterized the spatial factors of the place. The environmental conditions of the Beqa'a-plain and the site conditions of Kamid el-Loz must thus have all been beneficial for both the settlers and those who intended to govern the location. The long occupation of the habitat, which is still a vibrant village in Lebanon, is

▼ Figs 8, 9: Lebanon and Kamid el-Loz (left; map modified from Archaeologia 1998:9 by Christian Krug) and landscape reconstruction of the Beqa'a plain (right; made by Christian Krug). Source: Archive Heinz.





one piece of evidence for this assumption. To find out how these advantageous factors have been used and how and why they have functioned from the past up to the present, was the final factor in deciding to excavate at Kamid el-Loz.
Over the years of working at Kamid el-Loz, we discussed these historical matters at large, especially with our neighbors and colleagues from the village, who live in the immediate neighborhood of this ancient site. They see the historical remnants every day, and we learned that the questions concerning the origins of these remains, the formation processes, and the general meaning of the archaeological remains for the history of their own village today were discussed frequently and long before the archaeologists arrived on site. Our hope is that together we will find the answers to our questions in our ongoing collaboration on site.

1.2.1 Ancient Kamid el-Loz – the biography of the archaeological site in brief

Location: Kamid el-Loz, the archaeological site, part of the today's village of the same name, is located in the fertile highland of the south-eastern Beqa'a-plain, about 950 m above sea level, at the intersection of two major routes; flanked to the west by the Lebanon mountains and to the east by the Anti-Lebanon mountains and Mount Hermon.

▼ Figs 10, 11: Lebanon and its neighboring areas (left, map by Chr. Krug) and Kamid el-Loz and its neighbors (right, map by Chr. Krug). Source: Archive Heinz.

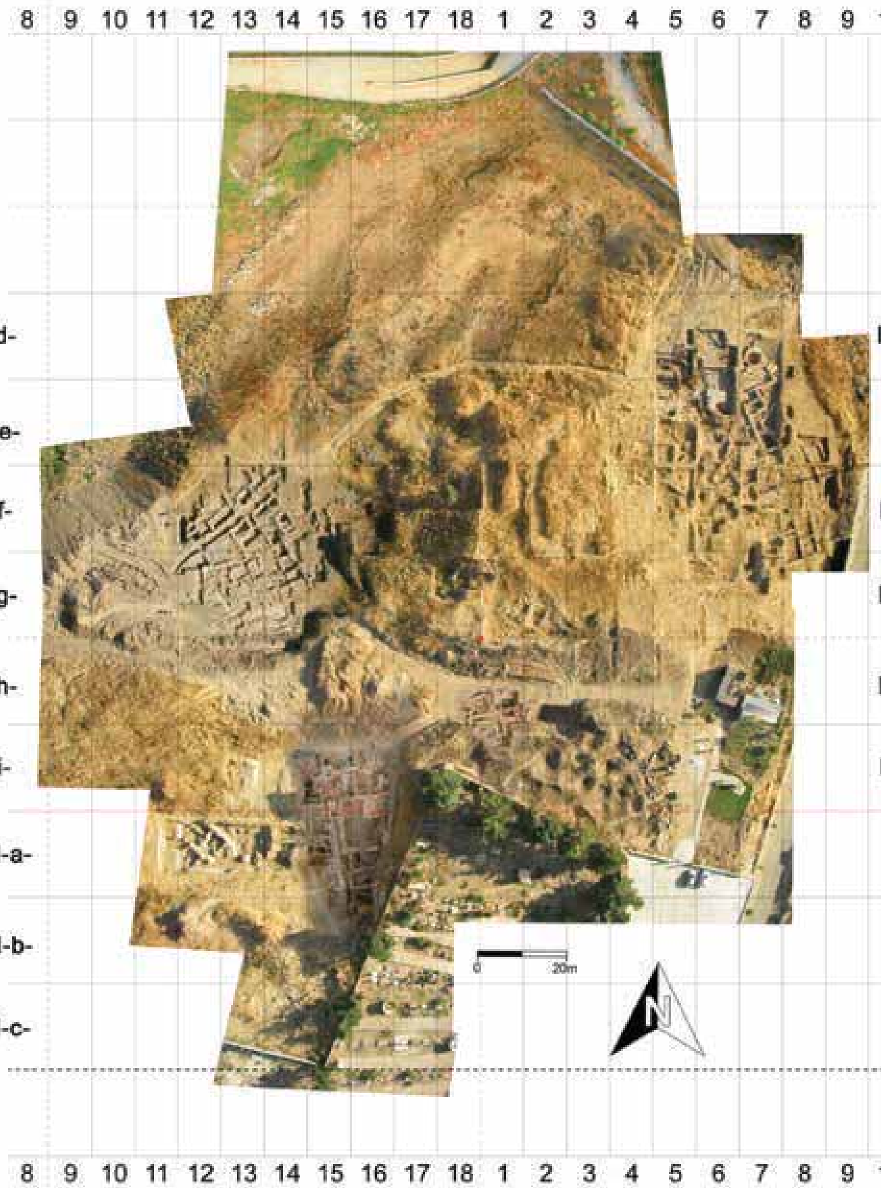




Climate: Hot summers, cold winters.
Water supply: A small pond, fed by a spring, borders the site at its northern edge. About 5 km north of the site is a stretch of marshy area and a large lake of about 12 km in length and 10 km in width. In spring and autumn there is heavy rainfall, which causes the level of the water in the marsh to rise in spring. Two main watercourses pass through the plateau, the Nahr al-Asi or Orontes in the north and the Nahr al-Litani, in the south.

Natural routes: Trans-regional overland routes made and still make the plain accessible. One, running northeast-southwest, connected the Levant with Northern Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt. The other one joined the area with the Mediterranean to the west and with Syria to the east.
The site: Kamid el-Loz is one of the largest archaeological sites of the area, rising some 25m above the today's plain and extending over about 240m to 300m in space.

► Fig. 12: The site of Kamid el-Loz (aerial picture by Chr. Krug). Source: Archive Heinz.



History: At least 5000 years ago, people noticed that the conditions in the area were favorable for establishing a settlement. They settled there and founded Kamid el-Loz, and subsequently, over the centuries, people developed villages, cities, and other ways to utilize the site. From these early beginnings to the present day, the use of the habitat has never been interrupted, and Kamid el-Loz, the modern village of the same name, continues to be a vibrant place to live in Lebanon.
Excavations: The National Department of Antiquities, Beirut, Lebanon and the German excavation teams of the University of the Saarland, Saarbrück-

en and the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz initiated the archaeological project at Kamid el-Loz in 1963. Until 1981, the excavations were co-directed by the director of the Department of Antiquities, Beirut, Lebanon and Prof. Dr. Rolf Hachmann of the Department of Prehistory, University of Saarbrücken, Saarbrücken, Germany.
Since 1997, archaeologists from Lebanon, Germany, Albania, Austria, France, Italy, Jordan, Switzerland, and the USA and local professional excavators have resumed work at Kamid el-Loz. The project is co-directed by the director of the Department of Antiquities, Beirut, Lebanon and by Prof. Dr. Marlies Heinz, Chair in Near Eastern Studies, Albert Ludwigs-University, Freiburg, Germany.
Current information on the project:
http://www.vorderasien.uni-freiburg.de/index.php/grabungen



▲ Fig. 13: Stone tool (length 7cm). Source: Archive Heinz.

1.3 Archaeology uses a Three-Age System to talk about historical developments: What are the "Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages"?

We, the archaeologists, excavate things, present information, and produce data. Since archaeologists are also anthropological, cultural, and historical scientists, we are also interested, as briefly mentioned above, in determining, on the basis of the objects we excavate and the information and data we produce, how and why human societies lived as they did and do and how and why knowledge, skills, and cultural, political, and economic systems develop. In order to understand and compare developments in different settlements, areas, and regions throughout time, archaeologists need classification systems that arrange the developments chronologically on local, regional and trans-regional levels. In the early days of archaeological research, archaeologists in Europe noticed that people, over the course of several thousand years, had developed a growing complex of knowledge about their natural environment, the raw materials occurring in these environments, and how to use these natural resources. The early archaeological research focused primarily on the tools and weapons that people had produced in the past. Over the course of time, archaeologists learned that people first used stone for objects, then learned to produce bronze, and later discovered how to process iron. It was the Danish archaeologist C.J. Thomsen (1788-1865) who then called the respective developments "the Stone Age," "the Bronze Age," and "the Iron Age."



▲ Fig. 14: Bronze bracelet (diam. 5cm). Source: Archive Heinz.

To name periods of time according to the use of raw materials perhaps sounds surprising. Nevertheless, we should remember that one designation for the modern era is "The Nuclear Age."



▲ Fig. 15: Iron nail (length 10cm). Source: Archive Heinz.

The mastering of the said raw materials was observable in archaeological excavations in many parts of the world. Where objects made of these materials occurred, archaeologists adopted the terminology first developed in Europe. Of course, the knowledge of how to use these raw materials was not acquired simultaneously all over the world. The absolute chronology of every development had and has to be investigated and determined for each site. It should be noted as well, that the development of bronze technology did not lead to the abandonment of stone as raw materials, and the inven-

tion of iron technology did not lead to the abandonment of bronze as a coveted metal. Rather, the technologies coexisted and the use of all three raw materials has continued up to the present. When archaeologists chose to name these periods the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages, they focused on only one single development in these societies. This focus was very narrow and did not cover the complete spectrum of social and cultural developments in these ancient societies; nevertheless, it stimulated a whole series of reflections and questions concerning the social and cultural needs and options that made the developments possible or necessary. The knowledge of how to process different raw materials is associated with different ranges of technological, geographical, and cultural knowledge as well as with certain social, economic, and political needs and options. The following questions were raised: How and why did people in the past become aware of the potential of stone to be used as tools and weapons? How and why did people imagine that stone could be transformed into vessels, pestles, mallets, knifes, arrowheads, and building materials for houses? How and why did the need to transform stone into implements emerge? How and why did the idea of creating objects out of raw materials and developing uses for them originate? How and why did people in the past become aware of the existence of metal-bearing rocks? How did they find these raw materials? How and why did they develop the knowledge to extract metal from rock, and how did they learn to process it further after the extraction of the metal from rock? Working with different raw materials requires different sets of craft knowledge, and the use of stone tools and weapons first, and later tools and weapons made from bronze and iron, was brought about by the different needs of different users. Archaeologists thus ask who the people who demanded these different materials were and why they did so. Furthermore, archaeology deals with the question of how and why those societies that did not have native sources of these raw materials learned about their existence, and how those societies obtained them: Did they obtain them by trade, by force, by migration, or as gifts? In addition, what happened to those societies who knew about the use of these materials but could not afford to procure them?

The "European" terminology is also applied to the chronological developments in Lebanon
This system of arraying events is, however, as one can see, a very imprecise one. Its application to the historical events in Lebanon helps us only to roughly assign dates to the first occurrence of each of the newly used raw materials and the development of new bodies of knowledge. The earliest bronze objects found in Lebanon are from approximately 3000 B.C. Archaeologists designate this occurrence as the commencement of the Bronze Age. The production of iron objects was widespread throughout the Levant around 1200 B.C. The evidence for this ability allowed archaeologists to set the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age at 1200 B.C. It is the archaeologists who excavate the material evidence and establish the underlying development of needs, knowledge, and options. It is the physicists who developed the radiocarbon method (^{14} C) that allows the assignment of the absolute points in time when these developments set in (3000 B.C. – 1200 B.C.).

The ongoing archaeological research in Lebanon, however, demonstrates that archaeologists are continuously faced with the highly complex expansion of diverse bodies of knowledge, social orders, political events, economic systems, and religious conceptions through time. Men initiate these changes, and nature (earthquakes, floods) sometimes causes them as well. The material remains of the actions and reactions of men to changes is what archaeologists look for in their excavations.

It thus became obvious; archaeologists working in Lebanon and the Levant needed a more detailed and at the same time a more versatile classification system to adequately describe the results of their excavations and thus of the history of Lebanon. Pottery became the basis for dividing cultural developments into smaller periods through time. Why was pottery used? In every excavation in Lebanon, pottery is the most frequently found artifact. Pottery was used and continues to be used in every house and household even today. Household inventories from diverse settlements and areas and from different periods of time show affinities as well as differences, continuities as well as changes in kind and composition. Archaeologists study, register, and organize these inventories and their developments and thus have developed another tool for documenting alterations in knowledge, needs, and options that had occurred in past societies in different places over time.

Household inventories and the changes that occurred in them are thus significant chronological indicators and, they refer to even more than solely chronological aspects of the cultural and social developments! An example from our own material world may illustrate the interrelation of household objects with social habits, local traditions, technical inventions, and the different (as well as similar) needs of people all over the world throughout time.

When we consider our own consumption habits, our cookware, and especially the different coffee cups we use – small ceramic cups with saucers in Italy, very small ceramic coffee mugs without saucers in Lebanon, and most recently the use of coffee mugs made of plastic and cardboard all over the world – we realize that even this small glimpse into the inventory of our kitchens shows the informative potential of material culture for discerning the development of knowledge, habits, needs, and options. Pottery for daily use was, in the past, usually made locally or regionally. The households in ancient villages of the same region shared more or less the same repertoire of vessels.

Pottery inventories of ancient households – vessel forms, types, styles of decorations, and techniques – thus tend to be comparable within settlements and their nearby villages.

Pottery was in the past a rather "conservative" object category, used over generations without changes in type and style. When changes occur, however, these are therefore immediately visible in the archaeological record (as well as in our current context). The development of forms and decorations of pottery vessels and the handicraft techniques used to manufacture these became thus another useful tool for archaeologists to categorize developments through time. It enables archaeologists to agree on continuities and changes as well as on traditions and innovations that had occurred over



▲ Fig. 16-18: The informative potential of material culture – coffee cups used today. Sources: Monika Benadda, Archive Heinz.

the course of time within the societies, sites, regions, and periods they are studying.
Other aspects of ancient social life and culture are equally meaningful chronological indicators as well as informative sources for cultural developments, forms of social organization, and changes in modes of life. Village life evolved into an urban lifestyle and hierarchical structured social orders with formally established power positions developed, and these processes are inter alia reflected in the development of architecture and space design. Empires dominated independent communities. The rulers of the empires demonstrated these new political relationships by presenting symbols of the new order, whether buildings, texts, images, the ownership of luxury and prestigious objects, or burial traditions. Archaeologists working in Lebanon use all these cultural indications of development and change, visible in the material remains, to divide time into periods and to align events chronologically. With the help of these developments, archaeologists divided the Bronze Age into three major phases and each major phase into several sub phases: Early Bronze Age (EBA) I, II, III and IV; Middle Bronze Age (MBA) I and II; and Late Bronze Age (LBA) I and II. The Bronze Age was followed by three phases of Iron Age developments: Iron Age I, II and III. Empire building and the expansion of foreign powers into the area of Lebanon became eponymous events when the Greeks, and after them the Romans, established their power in the region.

Our research at Kamid el-Loz has so far brought strong evidence for the following phases:
Early Bronze Age IV/Middle Bronze Age I, about 2000 B.C.
Middle Bronze Age I, about 2000 – 1750 B.C.
Middle Bronze Age II, about 1750 – 1550/1500 B.C.
Late Bronze Age I, about 1550/1500 – 1400/1350 B.C.
Late Bronze Age II, about 1400/1350 – 1200 B.C.
Iron Age I, about 1200 – 1000 B.C.
Iron Age II, about 1000 – 539 B.C.
Iron Age III, about 539 – 332 B.C.
Greek domination / Hellenistic period, about 332 – 30 B.C.
Roman domination / Roman Empire, about 30 B.C. – 300 A.D.

The divisions above illustrate some of the methods archaeologists use to structure time and cultural developments. It should be apparent that these structural systems are formulated, developed by archaeologists for their own need to find a tool, a way to talk about what happened at what time and where in the past. Why all these changes in their habits and traditions occurred in history, however, and what it meant in each case for the parties involved, when the local bodies of knowledge, the social, political and economic order they were accustomed to, and the religion they belonged to altered, are significant questions that will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters.

1.4 Architecture: The most visible of all the artifacts: The focus of our work at Kamid el-Loz.

When one visits the site of Kamid el-Loz today, one sees the remnants of stone buildings, some of them heavily burnt; broken walls; remains of laid stone floors in some places; installations like ovens; pits; and pottery fragments scattered on the surface here and there.

Architecture is conspicuous as material remains of the past and as part of our daily life. Architecture is the most visible feature in the archaeological record in Kamid el-Loz, and it is the most visible element in our everyday habitat. Architecture brings people into the conversation. On site, professionals and nonprofessionals continue to have lively discussions on matters of house forms and functions, technological aspects of house constructions, and building materials used, as well as the intangible aspects of the built space. Numerous controversial yet creative conversations on site continue to revolve around the possible functions of the monumental architecture in ancient Kamid el-Loz as well as aspects of the then social and political meaning of these buildings. In the course of these discussions, reflections on the architecture of the past go hand in hand with reflections on the present-day man-made structures. In general, we know the history, functions, and meanings of the buildings that surround us in our everyday life. That is, we know the material and immaterial aspects of the surrounding environment, which we created and to which we, who created it, in turn react. We need this knowledge *inter alia* to ensure that we behave correctly when entering the house next door, a shop, an office, or a religious building. A frequently discussed question in these reflections on past and present conditions raises a methodological issue: Can archaeological research determine immaterial aspects of architecture, which was set up and used in the past? And do archaeologists have methods and means at their disposal to

▼ Fig. 19: The east-slope. Roman structures, seen from the east. Source: Archive Heinz.



draw inferences about the social behavior and actions of the then residents of Kamid el-Loz? This methodological issue is closely linked to a theoretical challenge, namely to explain not only how archaeology can achieve insights into these fields but why. To answer both questions is complex. It should be helpful first to illustrate the problems raised with a case study and then to discuss the validity of applying a case study to the archaeological record.

1.4.1 The built environment: A special category of "thing" for the living as well as for the dead

Building a house

Architecture should be one of the most meaningful categories when we try to deduce information about the social world by dealing with the man-made world, with "things." Building a house requires an extensive diversity of knowledge, technical skills, and an all-embracing capability to manage the workflow until the house is finished. The ancient builders and settlers had these skills at their disposal; their knowledge of building and the environmental opportunities and constraints become visible when we deal directly with the material evidence and when we study the houses themselves, their building materials, the building techniques, and the placement of the houses in their natural environment.

Using a house

When dealing with architecture and the man-made environment, one often hears the saying: "form follows function." If we accept the existence of a connection between the form as well as the type, size, building materials, and location of a house and its function(s), we should clarify first what "function" means. The basic function, for which a house is built, is to provide shelter – shelter for people, animals, things, and ideas. Houses serve private needs and public functions, among the latter political, economic, military, and religious tasks. The variety and quantity of uses is nearly endless, and innumerous actions of all kind are carried out in and with houses. Certain conditions, however, that limit the possible range, whether in form or function, can be expected: climate, the natural environment of the living area in general, the access or non-access to certain building materials, the social order, traditions, rules, and regulations all have their impact on the needs and wishes as well as on the options of human actions, including the creation of a certain built environment.

The immaterial world behind the materiality of architecture

Houses, as the starting point for the following reflections, reveal in each case aspects of the social and economic situation of the owner, and thus contain (among other evidence) allusions to the ruling social order. Architecture is used for the presentation as well as for the concealment of power, images, and ideologies. It reveals information about self- and worldviews as well as the life styles of those who built it and who lived in the respective buildings. Presenting or concealing lifestyles with the help of architecture leads one to consider what identity is and what meaning "the self and the other" and thus "we" and "them" had and have, and how architecture displays these representations. Architecture not infrequently long outlasts its

builders and users. A building style may stay the same over several generations, even if the social habits, needs, and lifestyles have changed. This continuity in architecture can be the result of local (as well as non-local!) traditions. When architecture thus has to fit social needs, it is instructive to find out how traditions develop, how and why people keep traditions, and how conformity to a given building tradition can coexist with the changing social needs and lifestyles. Dealing with architecture raises the question of why it is at all necessary to keep up a tradition, a habit, which connects the present time with the past. This question leads to another consideration, namely, why was (and still is it) at all necessary to remember the past? For whom is the past meaningful, and what was and is the role and significance of memory? At the same time, it is no less instructive to ask why people break with traditions and create new traditions and what the crucial factor is in this change. It is thus the many real and symbolic hints as to the social conditions of its builders and users, the "communicative potential" of buildings as well as the potentially long-lasting duration of architecture, that make the built environment such a valuable tool for social archaeology.

1.4.2 How can archaeologists integrate the different approaches to the meanings of architecture, i.e., find out what the people's needs, options, knowledge, and potentials were thousands of years ago?

When "walking through the ages" on an archaeological site (such as Kamid el-Loz), the archaeologists, visitors, but above all those who have lived their whole life in the immediate neighborhood of an archaeological site see a variety of built structures: houses, enclosure walls, and also tombs.

The attentive observer perceives different house forms, types, and sizes; notes the building materials used and some of the building techniques exerted; and thus recognizes a variety of architectures and a diverse built environment. While looking at the buildings and discussing what we see, we become aware that indeed the material culture of the past transmits information about the people of the past: We recognize aspects of the knowledge, the needs, and the potentials of the past inhabitants. We capture aspects of technical knowledge and knowledge about resource occurrence and availability. We register aspects of norms and values, as well as functional and aesthetic needs and the economic potential to build what the clients and owners wanted, needed or were able to afford. Moreover, should different stages of settlement activities have been preserved, we may even recognize aspects of building practices and perhaps traditions that developed over the course of millennia.

The range of features today's local residents, visitors, and archaeologists see when visiting an archaeological site is dependent, in no small part, on our general understanding of architecture. The aim, however, in studying ancient architecture is not only to gain an insight into the material world of the past. As elucidated afore, are we in fact trying to develop a deep understanding of the connections between architecture and the social, cultural, religious, economic, and political customs and traditions of the former builders and users, thus seeking comprehension of the immaterial world behind the materiality of the ancient settlements.

Options to gain more detailed insights into the significance of architecture

In order to not only "see what we see" but to learn what the builders and users of houses thought and intended or just did according to the local customs and traditions when they built their houses, archaeologists should always examine the present before turning to the past. It is the insights into the thoughts and habits of today's inhabitants that enlarge the range of questions archaeologists will then ask when analyzing the material world of ancient societies and interpreting the immaterial world of habits, traditions, and possible intentions. Archaeologists interested in ancient architecture and space design thus study modern villages and their architecture and talk to architects, builders, and owners about their concerns when they create certain forms, types, and sizes of houses. Archaeologists can ask the actual builders and users of today's houses what function the houses serve, what meaning the architecture has, what the houses symbolize, and what the built environment stands for beyond being a shelter. Viewing today's architecture is thus a helpful way to obtain an entry into decoding the functions and meanings of architecture. Interaction with the architecture of today's villages will provide us with additional informative notes on the variety and the potentially broad spectrum of hints and signs that we may extract from buildings regarding the knowledge, needs, and options of its builders and users. Examining the construction process of today's architecture confirms what we said on the previous page: "Building a house requires an extensive diversity of knowledge, technical skills, and an all-embracing capability to manage the workflow until the house is finished."

2. The architecture of today's Kamid el-Loz

A case study for an appropriate procedure

In present day Kamid el-Loz, we see differences between the houses in form, type, and size. We know, by observing the building process and asking the owners, that one explanation for the difference between the houses is the time when the houses were built and thus the different cultural contexts, the *Zeitgeist* of the respective time in which each of the houses has been built.



▲ Fig. 20: Architecture in today's Lebanon: a traditional house. Source: Hassan Yahya.

Houses that originated 50 years or more ago and houses that are built today clearly differ, at least, in style and type. By comparing the houses and their distribution in space, we can differentiate between architecturally different areas of the village, and by asking the builders and the owners we can explain one of the reasons for the variety of village districts: There is the older part of Kamid el-Loz and a newer, only recently developed one. Formal distinctions thus inform firstly about the history of a village. In our inquiries for what else might have caused the formal differences, did the answers vary. The old houses, according to the majority of respondents, present past local traditions. The new houses, however, show the owner's desire to follow and visibly demonstrate his or her "modern way of life." This does not mean that the modern builders are



◄ Fig. 21: Architecture in today's Lebanon: modern houses. Source: Hassan Yahya.

going to neglect the traditional way of living altogether. Only in rare cases do they break *in toto* with the traditional way of building and thus with the local past. When furthermore asking about the functions the houses serve, we learn that all these houses are at least partly used as living quarters. More than one function, however, is possible: Houses can contain living quarters in the upper part, while shops, workshops, and work spaces are located in the basement.



▼ Fig. 22: Residential house and small shops in today's Kamid el-Loz. Source: Hassan Yahya.

The "meanings" of house types, forms, sizes and locations

As I said at the beginning, do all houses and architecture in general have "meanings". I refer to my earlier considerations: We discern meanings when we ask the builders, owners, neighbors, architects, and designers why a house has been built in the given form, type, style, and location. By questioning, we learn that the answers as a rule always only contain parts of the whole rationale. In general, however, we may add the following aspects of meaning attached to a house: Builders and owners demonstrate explicitly, via their building activities, their economic means and their lifestyle. At the same time, the owner can try to hide her or his economic status or lifestyle! Two options are possible. On the one hand, a wealthy owner can build a modest house to hide his or her wealth. On the other hand, a homeowner may claim a certain economic status via the building she or he erects, while in reality this is done to hide a lack of wealth. Houses may show the client's or the owner's preference for the "modern way of life" and the desire to show it. At the same time, the owner can live according to the modern way

of life but want to hide this, and so he or she builds the house strictly and visibly according to past local traditions. Whether the builders and owners of the houses act, in every case, consciously and deliberately according to these parameters or whether they just act according to what is considered "normal" locally is another question. The interested layperson, historian, and archaeologist thus have to find out what those who are building and using a house are "telling" us with their building, that is, what meanings the viewer ascribes to it.

The careful observation of and dealing with today's constructed environment and once again the opportunity to ask the builders, owners, and users the functions and meanings of their houses leads to a variety of insights into the wishes, needs, and options that the current residents of Kamid el-Loz have when planning and building their homes. Architecture allows its builders, owners, and users to send a wide variety of ambiguous messages about how they want to live and how they want to be seen by others.

The exploration of architecture alongside the building process and, as mentioned before, the opportunity to talk to architects, builders, and house owners about the reasons why they build their houses as they do, allows archaeologists to learn about primary and secondary functions of houses, the development of house types and styles, and how and why they accrue. We learn that the age of the buildings reflects the spirit of the time, tradition, and taste; and at the same time, there is the possibility of retaining, modifying, changing, and even breaking the local traditions. People have needs, wishes, and options, and according to these they build their houses. On the one hand, local conditions may allow the builder or user to modify or change traditional architecture. Norms, values, and the existence of powerful and influential representatives of local traditions may, on the other hand, prevent people from outwardly turning away from tradition and force or "convince" the builder or user to build and live according to long-lasting local rules.

Distinctive buildings: What do they represent – different functions, different meanings, or just different owners?

Among the architecture of today's Kamid el-Loz, the local residents, visitors, and archaeologists recognize one building that is unique in form, type, size, and facade decoration. This building is the mosque. It visibly differs from all other buildings but, nevertheless, represents a tradition, the tradition of Islamic religious buildings all over the world.

When we analyze this building in terms of the means and resources necessary to build it, we recognize that a greater effort had to be made for its construction than for most of the residential houses. Even without knowing the primary function of this building, the viewer is made aware of its exceptional status. Based on the extraordinary effort it took to build this structure and its impact on the viewer, questions arise as to the reasons why people established this building. Another consideration is the organization of the actual construction process. Did the residents of Kamid el-Loz build that mosque after a joint vote and with a joint financing or was it built by the arrangement of and under the guidance of a central institution? When it comes to determining the function of the building, all those familiar with the tradition of Islamic religious buildings can explain that its function is



▲ Fig. 23: The mosque of today's Kamid el-Loz dominating the space design of today's village. Source: Archive Heinz.

religious and know that it does not have a domestic function in everyday life. The primary function and the meaning of this building are closely associated. The size, uniqueness, and location of the mosque make the building remarkable among the local houses in the region; it is visible from far away. All three parameters also demonstrate the distinctive function and meaning of religious affairs in the village, at least for those who decided to set up the mosque and had the means at hand to build it. At the same time, do all inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz know that a representative of the Islamic religion, a sheikh, runs the mosque, ensuring its correct use according to the religious rules. This means that this particular building in Kamid el-Loz today requires a person who has a specific functional knowledge and education. Functional differentiation is the social prerequisite for establishing and maintaining a building with a specialized function. In other words, to need, to build, and to use a building with a particular function like the mosque requires the existence of specific cultural, religious, and social conditions. It is the architecture, visible to everybody, that reveals a variety of information about these social conditions.

Architecture: revealing and hiding modes of life over the course of time

The architecture of today's Kamid el-Loz indicates a variety of information about the history of the architecture and the development of the village. The architecture reflects the technical knowledge and skills available, while the building materials show the villager's global economic connections. The chosen method to explore the architecture of today's Kamid el-Loz shows us quite plainly the needs, wishes, and potentials of the house builder, the

owners and inhabitants concerning the expression of their lifestyles. Houses are built according to both traditions and new ideas. Implicitly, dealing with the old and the new thus reflects how the inhabitants in Kamid el-Loz today deal with the norms and values that count. Functions and meanings of the houses have been determined by analyzing and comparing the house types, forms, sizes, and locations, by estimating the effort and the resources needed for building them as well as by questioning the builders and owners. We can name and assign each household's activities and identify residential houses, shops, workshops and houses as well as the mosque and the affiliated monumental house. Moreover, we keep in mind that in the older part of Kamid el-Loz today, the visible formal differences between the houses are less pronounced. In the recent past, did one avoid visualizing the formal differences and thus the social differences, or were there smaller social and economic differences between the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz indicated in the built environment? Did the social situation change among the local residents during the past 50 years, and with it the values, the self-views, the traditions about self-presentation, and the demonstration of wealth? We, the archaeologists, working and discussing with the residents of Kamid el-Loz learned in our conversations that people do not always tell the whole story when asked about their reasons for building their houses in the way they did. In all cases, however, it looked as if it was not unimportant on the one hand how the builders and owners wanted to see and present themselves, and, on the other hand, what people thought about their respective neighbors and how those presented themselves with the help of their property.

2.1 How does a case study of a recent village's architecture help archaeologists to study the architecture of the past?

Dealing with architecture in today's villages is valuable primarily for expanding the spectrum of questions to be asked and aspects to be considered when dealing with the interrelations of cause and effect in architectural studies. Corresponding studies help to clarify in general what types – and what range of information about the builders, owners, and users of architecture – can potentially be extracted from the actual material analysis.

The case study of the present-day architectural development in Kamid el-Loz was thus not undertaken to transfer the acquired insights directly to the past. Using knowledge of a contemporary society directly to explain the past is never possible. The reason is obvious: As we have seen, the development of any society, any culture, and thus any architecture is very much dependent on the traditions, rules, values, and norms of the time and area in which a society, culture, or architecture developed. Five thousand years ago, the society, politics, economy, religious world, norms, and values were different from those of today. Ancient architectural phenomena might look similar to recent ones but might have been created for very different reasons.

Insights into the immaterial world behind the materiality of the past, into the sphere of the "invisible," into the wide field of the potential meanings of architecture, into the norms, values, rules and regulations that lead to

certain styles and types of architecture in certain times and certain areas thus need specific means of investigation. Contextual explanations have to be developed, which is a major challenge for every archaeological study (for a corresponding approach see for instance chapter 8.8.3.1).

Contextual explanations: Methods to make the "invisible" visible in an archaeological context

A multitude of sociological, ethnological, and anthropological studies deal with questions comparable to the archaeological ones elucidated above. The starting situation for the social sciences and ethnological and anthropological research is like the situation on which our case study was based.

The methods sociologists, ethnologists, and anthropologists use to collect information about the connections between the material culture and the living conditions of people are interviews, the analysis of existing studies on the topic, and, in particular, long-term-studies concerning the subject. These scholars analyze the material cultural expressions and their connections to the given lifestyles of people. They demonstrate similarities and differences in the material and try to explain these, taking into account the particular circumstances under which they were created. Generalizations and statements are worked out that go beyond the explanation of the individual case and may thus become of explanatory value for further studies, such as archaeological ones (see for example Waterson 2009 and Hasse 2014).

Archaeologists synthesize the insights into the relationship between the development of material culture and the underlying values, norms, functional needs, economic potentials, and ranges of skills and knowledge gained by sociologists, ethnologists, and anthropologists with the insights regarding the emergence and development of the material heritage gained by archaeological analysis. They then transform their respective syntheses into hypothetical explanations of the archaeological contexts. With the help of these hypotheses, archaeologists bridge the gap between the material they have at hand to study and the missing link, "the invisible factors behind the material," the people that created the material world.

But in addition to finding solutions for explaining the "missing link," – the intentions, needs, and acts of the actual people – another methodological and theoretical challenge has to be overcome by archaeologists: Archaeological research has to investigate which of the human acts appear in the material culture and which do not, and they need to find out why this is so. No general answer to this phenomenon is possible, but approximations and preliminary answers can be developed by scrutinizing each and every archaeological context. Preliminary answers to the pending research questions thus characterize archaeological research when it comes to explaining the social, political, economic, and religious factors – the "invisible" factors behind the material culture that caused the archaeological context to be as it was when uncovered by the excavators. "Preliminary answers" however, do not mean "any" answers. The explanations developed by archaeologists that integrate reflections on "needs, intentions and potentials" of the people who, for example, built ancient Kamid el-Loz, must show a logical and thus a possible connection between the material culture and the social-scientific explanation. A scientific explanation allows the explanatory value of a given solution to be examined. Scholars are thus in a position to approve the

solution or to reject it as not convincing. At the same time, social scientists, including archaeologists, have to be aware of the fact that when it comes to explaining human agency, explanations will never capture the whole story, and there will never be one single solution, whether in ancient social contexts or in recent ones, as shown above. Another significant aspect that affects a scientific statement must be taken into account. Archaeologists, like all other social scientists, start from different viewpoints. Depending on numerous influential factors, people perceive the world differently; social scientists have different epistemological interests, apply different research methods, and use various theories in explaining one and the same archaeological context. Moreover, every archaeologist faces the problem of whether she or he will be at all able to gain an *emic* insight into the past while analyzing it from a contemporary or *etic* point of view. *"Emic"* means to look at the living conditions from the actors' point of view. The *etic* view is to look at the past from the perspective of the researcher.

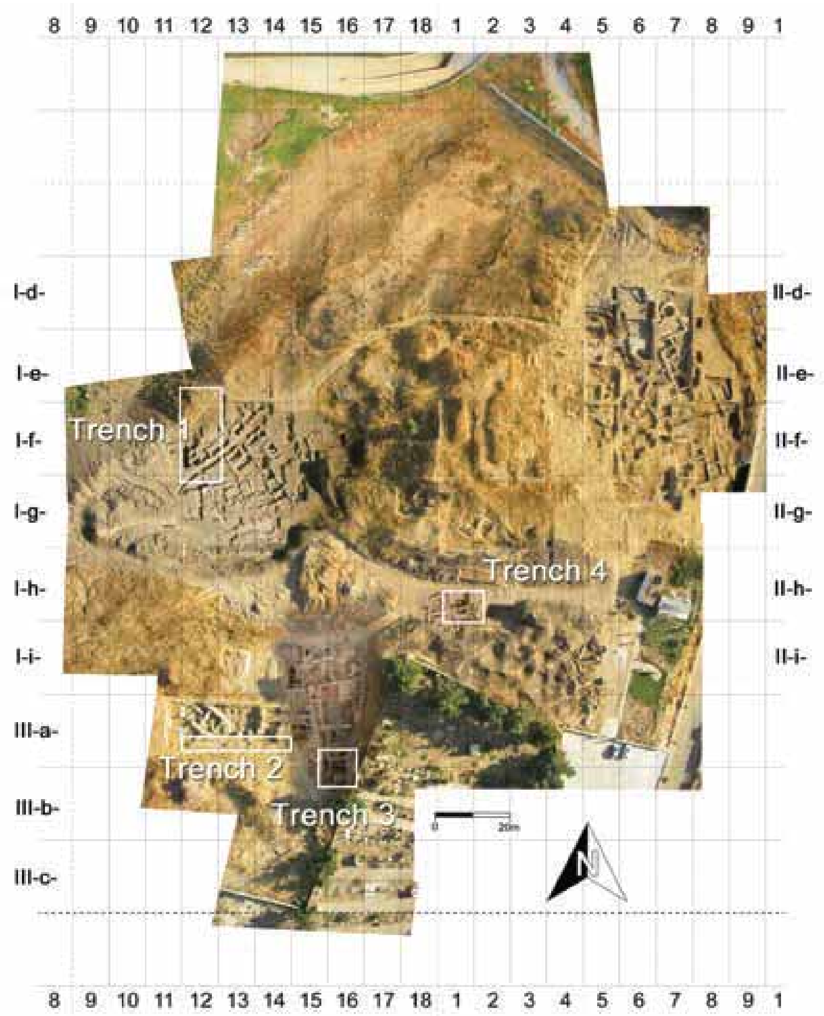
Last but not least: A creative archaeologist is, first and above all, curious about the present before turning to the past

Dealing with today's Kamid el-Loz and excavating the ancient villages shows that archaeological research never deals exclusively with the past. On the contrary, perceptive archaeological research, interested in the people of the past and their material world, is only possible when integrating reflections on the social and cultural worlds of today. The critical contemplation of the present gives rise to a range of questions that leads to a critical analysis of the past. Dealing with the present enables the archaeologist to deduce from the material culture a range of immaterial factors and social frameworks that made the materialization of the past possible, and thus reveals a wide range of questions to use to study the archaeological material. Archaeological research thus means "to know the present in order to decipher the past"!

II.
Stories and Histories of Kamid el-Loz

1. Early beginnings at Kamid el-Loz (EBA IV / MBA I c. 2000 B.C.)

Early Bronze Age I/ II/III	Early Bronze Age IV / Middle Bronze Age I	Middle Bronze Age I/II	Late Bronze Age I/II
3000 – 2000 B.C.	c. 2000 B.C.	2000 – 1550/1500 B.C.	1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.



◄ Fig. 24: The location of the named trenches. Source: Archive Heinz.

Several questions are asked repeatedly on-site, including when the settlement activities at Kamid el-Loz started, what the first settlement looked like, what kind of dwellings the people built, what the spatial planning looked like, and what culture was created and is represented by the first settlers of Kamid el-Loz. The short answer is that we do not know yet! We, however, do not want to leave it at that. Rather, it means a lot to us to explain what kind of information we have currently at our disposal to elucidate the early beginnings and what kind of information is still missing. We begin with the latter. The focus of our present study is on the built

environment as the most valuable information source for investigating the former modes of life. However, it is this evidence – the architecture and the built environment of the earliest settlement in Kamid el-Loz – which is currently scarcely available to us. We will specify below the reasons for this desideratum. Other data, though, are present that allow us to date the first settlement activities, to reconstruct facets of the then modes of living, and to develop initial insights into aspects of the cultural development, the habits, rules, regulations, norms, and values according to which the earliest known settlers in Kamid el-Loz lived.

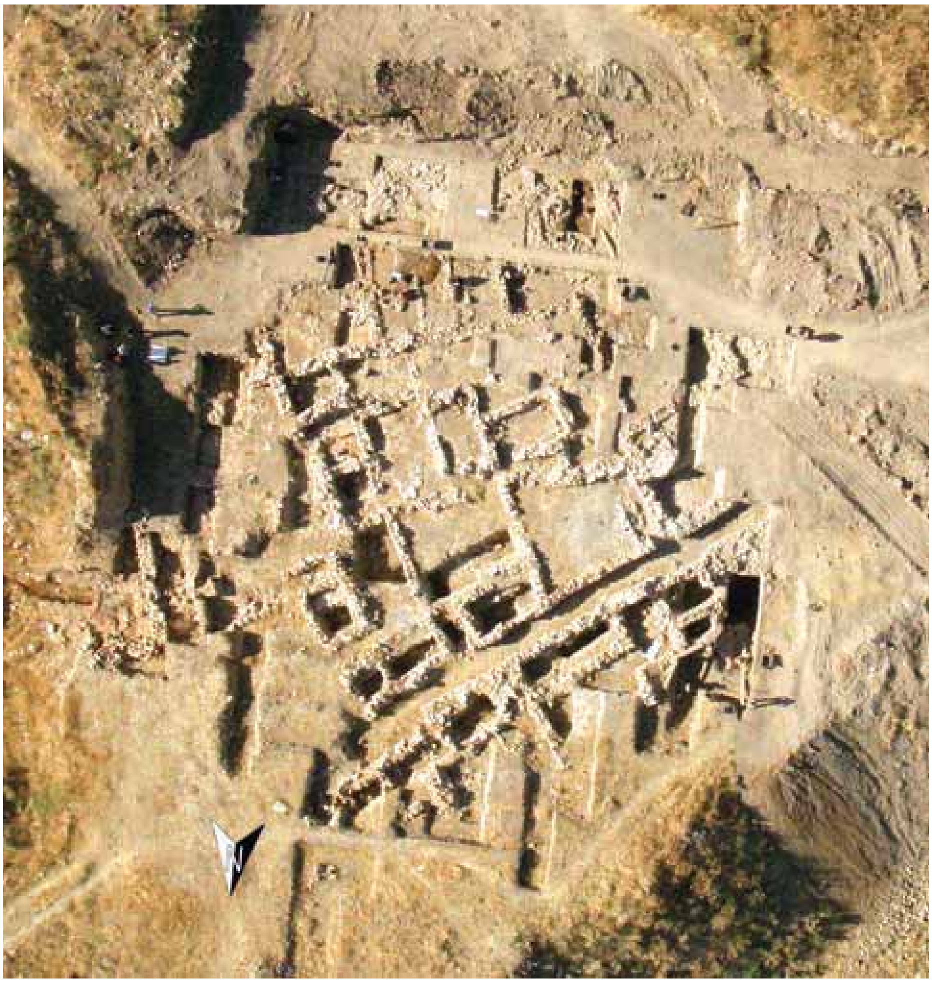
1.1 The oldest pieces of evidence …

The oldest pieces of evidence we have for settlement activities at Kamid el-Loz are from approximately 4000 years ago, representing the Early Bronze Age IV (EBA IV) / Middle Bronze Age (MBA I) transition, about 2000 B.C.

1.2 How did we get this information?

The settlement site of ancient Kamid el-Loz is up to 25m high; the 25m of accumulated cultural layers are the result of the continuous use of the same settlement space over thousands of years.

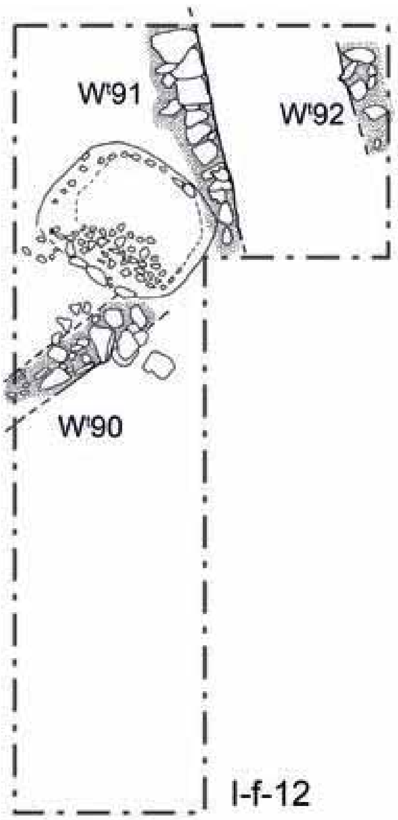
► Fig. 25: The height of the accumulated layers is well visible in the residential area west. Source: Archive Heinz



The only way to reach the older layers of a settlement of an according site without destroying the more recent settlements is to dig small but deep trenches. We did this and selected four areas to start (trenches 1 – 4).

1.3 Four soundings in the center of the tell – what are the material findings?

The foundation layers of Kamid el-Loz, at least 25m below today's surface, have not yet been reached, and there is still a long way to go (or, shall we say, we must dig deeper) until we arrive at bedrock and thus reach the level and the time when it all began. Operating on a small scale, as we do with our trenches, does not lead to a large-scale exposure of architecture and space design, the evidence we actually focus on and which we consider most meaningful for reconstructing the modes of life in ancient (as well as in today's) societies. Nevertheless, the findings from all four trenches supply us with information about the chronology and the history of the site as well as with insights into the living conditions at that time at Kamid el-Loz, insights that differ from and at the same time add to the knowledge gained by the analysis of architecture and space design.





◄ Fig. 26, 27: Drawing and aerial photograph of Trench 1: walls and oven. Source: Archive Heinz.

Trench 1 revealed a huge oven, three built stone walls (W^{t} 90, 91, 92), and a collection of pottery fragments that allowed us to date this context and the earliest activities to the EBA IV / MBA I transition.



◄ Fig. 28: Oven in Trench 1. Source: Archive Heinz.



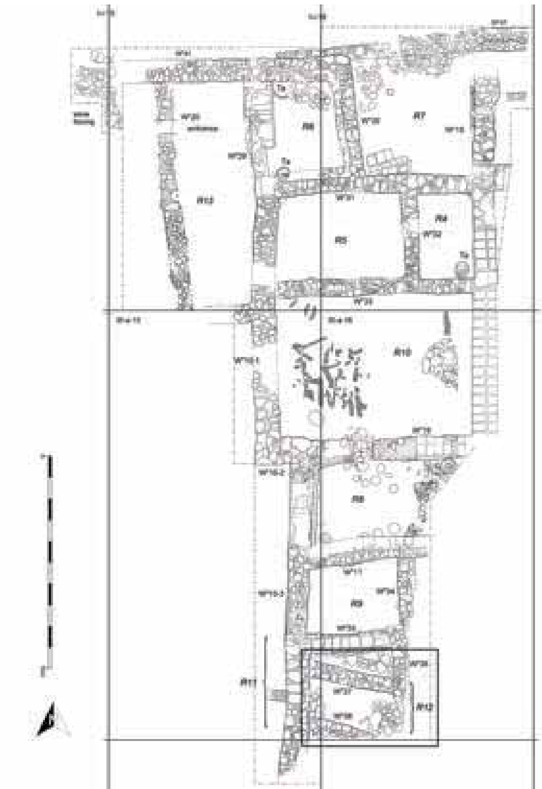


▲► Fig. 29, 30: Trench 2, photo on the right taken from east to west. Source: Archive Heinz.

▼ Figs 31, 32: Trench 3, carried out in room 12 of the MBA palace (MBP 3). Source: Archive Heinz.

Trench 2 yielded strata with small inclusions such as stones, charcoal, bone splinters, plant remains, and pottery fragments, the latter comparable to the ones found in trench 1, but contained no architectural remains or installations in its early (!) layers.

With **trench 3**, carried out in room 12 of the MBA II palace building (for room 12 and the term "palace MBP 3," see chapter 4.1.1), we reached a layer of earth underneath the floor of room 12. We uncovered no architecture or built remains. The pottery fragments preserved, however, resemble the EBA IV / MBA I material from trenches 1 and 2 (and, as we realized in the course of our studies, are comparable to the pottery fragments found in trench 4 as well).





Trench 4 revealed a stone structure resp. fragmented wall remains, consisting of two solid stone formations, joined at a right angle and surrounded by broken pottery that matched the fragments we found in trenches 1, 2, and 3. (Trenches 1, 3, and 4 contained, moreover, material evidence documenting the use of the areas until at least LBA II; trench 2 even contains material as recent as the Hellenistic period, 332 – 30 B.C.)



◄ Fig. 33: Trench 4, lowest level – the stone-structure resp. wall remains. Source: Archive Heinz.

1.4 Four soundings in the center of the tell contained accumulated layers of soil, scanty architectural remains, and a multitude of pottery fragments. What do we learn from these rather sparse remains about the early settlers of Kamid el-Loz?

The four soundings served our interest in investigating the early beginnings at Kamid el-Loz. We still have a long way to go to fully understand how "it all began" and why the site of Kamid el-Loz was selected. We unearthed scattered remains of different kinds. Initially, it seems that a few walls, an oven, and a sequence of stratigraphic undisturbed layers containing pottery fragments and further residues may not be very informative with regard to reconstructing the early human activities and modes of life in Kamid el-Loz; this impression, however, is deceptive. The insights we potentially gain into the modes of life, knowledge, thinking and acting, intentions, traditions, habits, needs, and options of the people then living in Kamid el-Loz – into their fortunes and misfortunes – depend to a great extent on the questions we ask as archaeologists, excavators, visitors, and readers of archaeological

reports. In our present case, we have, to begin with, only isolated objects at hand, including some architectural remains. As we now try to reveal, we can acquire a wide variety of information about the people and their lives at that time at Kamid el-Loz on the basis of this evidence when we keep in mind the human actor behind the materialized world.

Around 2000 B.C., people who knew how to utilize the natural area for subsistence living resided at Kamid el-Loz. They knew what resources the site and its immediate surrounding provided that safeguarded the availability of water, food, and the various needed raw materials. They knew where to find and how to grow edible plants and how to live with animals; they were experienced farmers, stockbreeders, traders, and craftsmen. The settlers knew how to meet the local needs for cooking and baking. They were experienced oven builders and constructed an oven of unusually large dimensions (compared to all other ovens excavated at Kamid el-Loz), which was suitable for communal use as well as for use by a large household. The people not only knew how to construct an oven but also how to fire it, as the scorch marks prove. They had the knowledge and the means at hand to cook, grill, bake, and broil their food, and it was clear that the then settlers knew where to place the oven in order to prevent the smoke from being a nuisance and how to avoid the danger of burning down the neighborhood. They were also able to either produce, form, decorate, and fire the pottery they needed for their daily needs or to acquire the necessary vessels from respective manufactories. The settlers were familiar with the resources available in the neighborhood as well as in the wider environment, the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains, to provide themselves with the building materials needed to construct solid stone houses. The people knew how to break the rock, how to cut it, and how to estimate the right size of the stones for transport as well as for actual use as building material. They must thus have had the appropriate tools at hand to break and form the stone, and they had the means of transportation at their disposal to bring the stones from their place of origin to the site of Kamid el-Loz.

The things we excavate are the outcomes of human activities, needs, intentions, wishes, and options. To produce and use things – to develop a demand for things – requires certain prerequisites and conditions. We are interested in finding out the social, economic, political and religious conditions created by the settlers, which enabled them to live together at Kamid el-Loz. We are currently investigating a whole complex of questions on this subject, regarding the people's specialization and the possible interactions between this specialization and the social organization. We are searching for the relationships between the man-made environment and the people who made it, the conditions necessary to produce and use things, and thus the living conditions of the people in the past.

Excursus: Broken pottery: Only waste, or another valuable source for understanding knowledge, habits and traditions?

All four trenches contained pottery of the kind illustrated below (see BAAL 14, 2010:71ff. and pl. 25, page 72 for further details). A quick look at this category demonstrates the potential of pots and tableware to convey information about the habits, needs, and traditions of the settlers. At the same time shall this excursus compensate a little for the fact that we cannot (yet),

for the early beginnings in Kamid el-Loz, gain insights into the then modes of life by performing an analysis of the built environment.

A few pottery fragments, not connected with any buildings, may seem to be rather meaningless or even just waste. However, potsherds, beyond their function as a chronological indicator, are de facto of highly informative value when we are looking for means to reconstruct the knowledge, the handicraft traditions, and the habits of the former residents of Kamid el-Loz. The pottery fragments document a wide array of knowledge possessed by those who produced and used the pots. The analysis of the raw material, the clay, its origin and processing options, the assessment that the users needed a variety of vessel types and the study of the manufacturing technology reveals to us the knowledge and the craft skills then available.

Those who manufactured the pots knew first of all about the occurrence of clay deposits. They knew that clay possessed the property of being malleable. They had learned that adding different kinds of temper (stones, crushed pottery, shell, plants) to the clay would make the raw material more suitable for drying and for being fired without cracking. The EBA IV / MBA I pottery was actually carefully fired, i.e., the people who produced the pots knew that formed clay could be fired without being destroyed, knew how to build kilns, how to heat them up, and how to fire the pottery. Moreover, they recognized that the firing made the pot stable and waterproof. The pots from Kamid el-Loz are wheel-made. The then potter thus knew how to make and use a turntable. People knew how to color pots, knew that plants and a variety of soils and stones were usable for fabricating color, knew how to apply the coloring material to the clay vessels, and knew how the colors would react to fire.

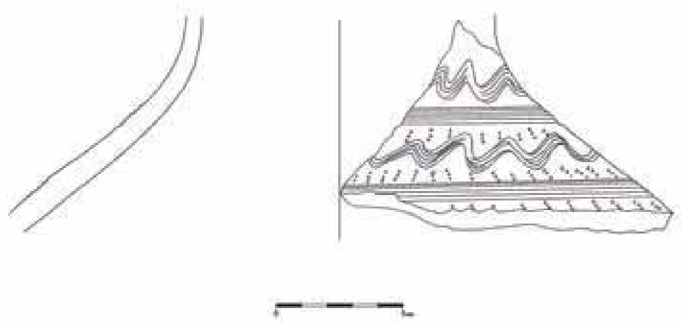
With our current knowledge, we cannot yet say with certainty whether it was the residents of Kamid el-Loz who had all this knowledge at their disposal and whether the pottery was manufactured locally. We need further research on the composition of the clay to find out its – possible local – origins. Further insights are needed as well into the then activities on site, the settlement's architecture and space design, the possible existence of functional specialized buildings and districts, and

▼Fig. 34-37: Pottery fragments from the trenches, dating to the EBA IV / MBA I period. Source: Archive Heinz.











▲ Fig. 38: Major archaeological sites in Lebanon, among them Sidon and Tell Arqa. Source: Archive Heinz.

technical installations in order to answer the question of the production site. If we find out that the pots were not manufactured locally but were imported, we can identify yet another complex of available knowledge. In this case, the then settlers themselves either brought the pots to Kamid el-Loz or imported them. In the latter case, the knowledge of where vessels were obtainable was available. The users of the pots would then have had the geographical and cultural knowledge of the surrounding areas, as well as the economic means at their disposal, to meet their needs. We know, by studying the reports of other excavations carried out in Lebanon, that pottery, comparable with that of Kamid el-Loz, was used in localities as far away as Sidon in southern Lebanon and Tell Arqa in the north of Lebanon (see the map, fig. 38). It is thus reasonable to assume that the then inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz were in touch with the neighboring regions and exchanged ideas and technical knowledge, or even the pottery itself.

Why were some pots decorated?

During the EBA IV / MBA I period, people living at Kamid el-Loz deemed it necessary to decorate the pots – but why? To find an answer to this question is part of our current research on the pottery of Kamid el-Loz. Our preliminary reflections may indicate the direction of our research. Decorating pots, other artifacts, and even the human body, according to our working hypothesis, expresses aspects of the thinking and acting, the knowledge, the traditions, and the social and cultural habits of past (and present) societies. In a great number of today's and past societies, people decorate the things that surround them: their dishes, their clothes, their houses, and, as stated, even their bodies. The decorations very often are much more than just ornamental. Decorations function as symbols for social affiliations, statuses, roles and functions in societies. Decor may indicate ownership; it may indicate its origin and identify the producer, and it can designate the function of an object as well. Decor may contain stories of social relevance, and in many cases, the decoration of things as well as of the body symbolizes aspects of the spiritual sphere. The common thread that guides our ongoing research on the decoration of the pottery sees the decor as symbolizing cultural, social, and spiritual habits of the then inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz.

Excursus: The earliest indications of settler activities found so far date to the Early Bronze Age IV / Middle Bronze Age I transition: How do archaeologists estimate the relative and absolute age of the cultural heritage?

For exploring the history of a site and thus the history of the resident communities, a sequence of undisturbed layers is among the most meaningful pieces of evidence. It forms first the primary basis for the relative dating of a context and second, depending on the composition of the layers, the fundamentals for its absolute dating.



◄ Fig. 39: Stratigraphic sequence on the western slope of the “Kuppe” area (I-g-18/II-g-1). Source: Archive Heinz.

The relative age of a site

Over the course of time, layers of earth as well as of the remains of human activities accumulate. The deepest layer is therefore the oldest; the upper layer is the most recent one. The relative age of architecture and objects including pottery, found in undisturbed layers, is determined by their stratigraphic position.

The absolute age of a site

The composition of and the inclusions in the layers potentially provide us with the evidence we need for the absolute dating of the site. Where the layers contain carbonaceous, organic inclusions, archaeologists can use ^{14}C (radiocarbon) dating to determine the absolute age of the layers – and thus the structures and objects they contain. (A very helpful text explaining the details of this dating method can be found at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radiocarbon_dating)

Conclusions: EB IV / MBA I – the oldest remains found so far, but not yet the remains from the earliest beginnings of Kamid el-Loz

The stratigraphic indications and the chronology we compiled in Kamid el-Loz reveals that the earliest layers we reached so far in all four trenches date to the Early Bronze Age IV / Middle Bronze Age I transition, around 2000 B.C. The little material evidence we currently have for studying the modes of life of the early settlers in Kamid el-Loz allows us for the moment to ascertain that the society, then established at Kamid el-Loz, had complex stores of knowledge at its disposal. These encompassed a variety of technological knowledge as well as an understanding about the geography, the natural resources of the area, and their potential for subsistence and living. The inhabitants built up a functioning social organization and were in social and economic contact with the surrounding areas and communities. However, the earliest material we have excavated up to now is not the oldest. Our current assumption is that people lived at Kamid el-Loz far earlier than 2000 B.C. The reason for our surmise is based on our stratigraphic observations. The depth of the cultural layers – the layers we reached in our soundings – clearly show that we still have to dig a good distance until we reach bedrock – the founding layers of the first settlement. We should thus not go wrong with our assumption that the founding of the settlement took place much earlier than 2000 B.C.

Further Reading:

Trench 1 / area I-f-12
The residential area west of the temple area
BAAL 14, 2010: 68ff.

Trench 2 / area III-a-12-14
Area west of the palace site
BAAL 8, 2004: 111ff.
BAAL H. S. VII, 2010: 155ff.

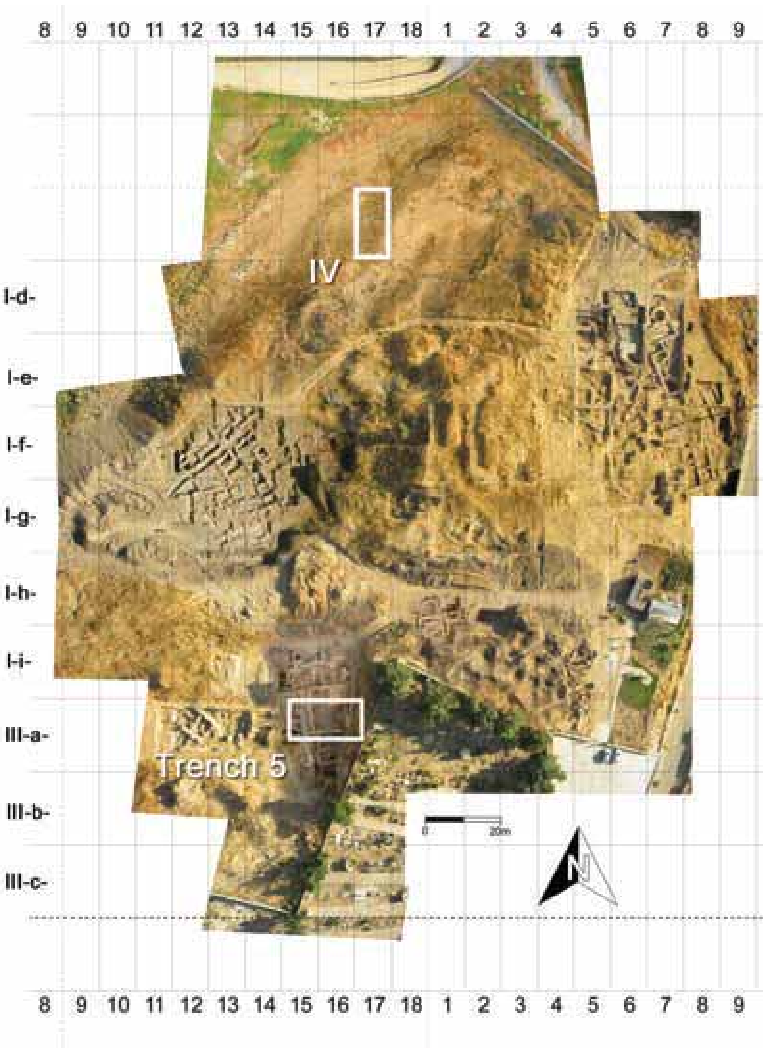
Trench 3 / area III-a/b-16
Room 12 in the Middle Bronze Age palace building
BAAL 14, 2010: 95ff.

Trench 4 / area II-h-1
The so-called administrative area, also known as the “Schatzhaus”- area, east of the palace district
BAAL 15, 2011: 53ff.

2. Settlement activities continue, the actual cultural evidence changes

The early Middle Bronze Age (MBA I c. 2000 – 1750 B.C.)

Early Bronze Age I/II/III	Early Bronze Age IV / Middle Bronze Age I	Middle Bronze Age I	Middle Bronze Age II	Late Bronze Age I/II
3000 – 2000 B.C.	c. 2000 B.C.	2000 – 1750 B.C.	1750 – 1550/1500 B.C.	1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.

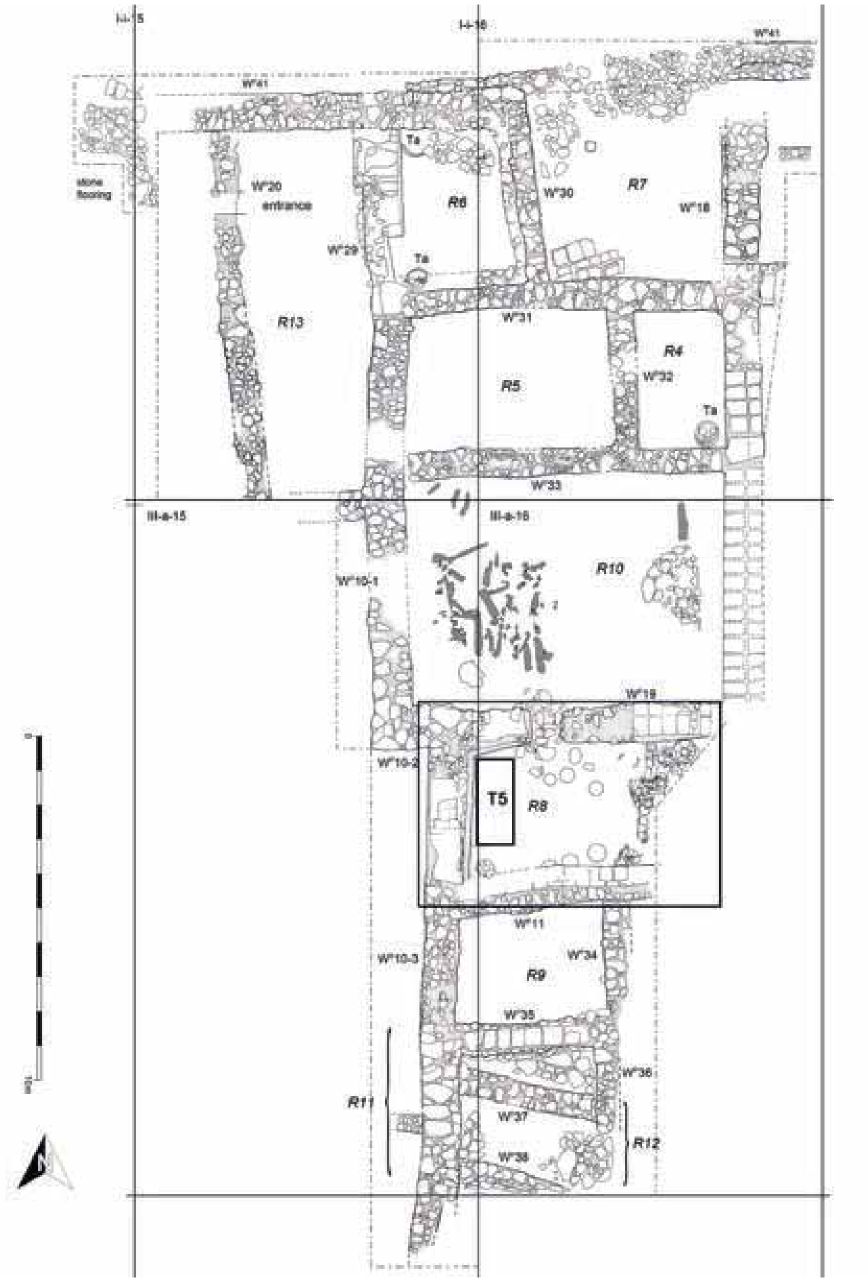


◄ Fig. 40: The site and the location of trench 5 and area IV. Source: Archive Heinz.

▼ Fig. 41: Trench 5. Source: Archive Heinz.



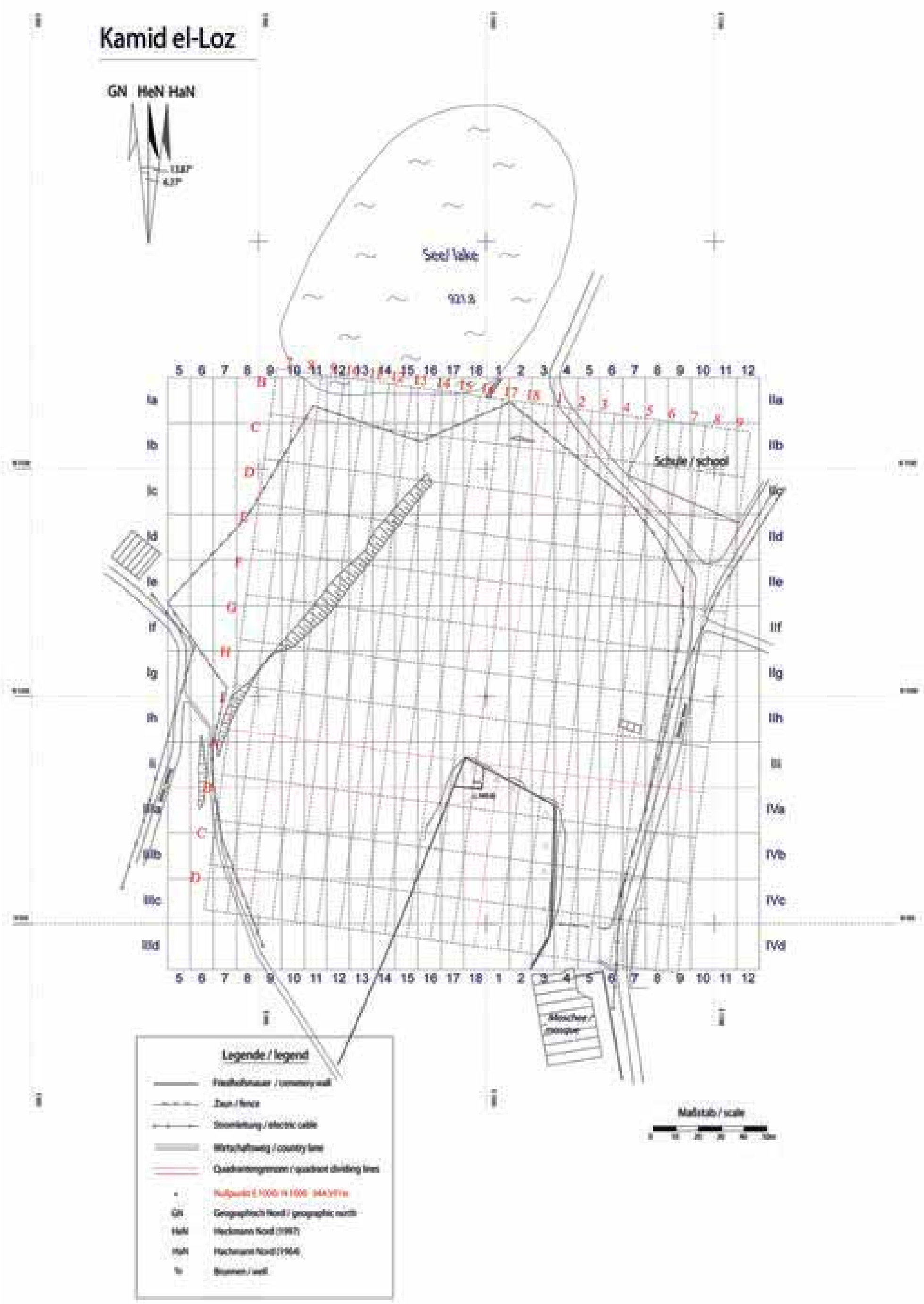
In the course of our excavations, the possibility arose of carrying out a further test trench, number 5, which we made in room 8 of the Middle Bronze Age II palace building (MBP 2) (for the designation MBP 2 see here, chapter 6.1). About 1m below the MBA II floor of room 8, we reached a trodden floor without any installations, artifacts, or other signs of human activities.



► Fig. 42: Trench 5, room 8. Source: Archive Heinz.

The trodden floor denotes human activities here prior to those presented by the MBA II palace. Tentatively, we date this evidence, stratigraphically earlier than the MBA II structures and later than the EBA IV / MBA I layers, to the MBA I period, knowing that this assignment needs further compelling evidence as proof.

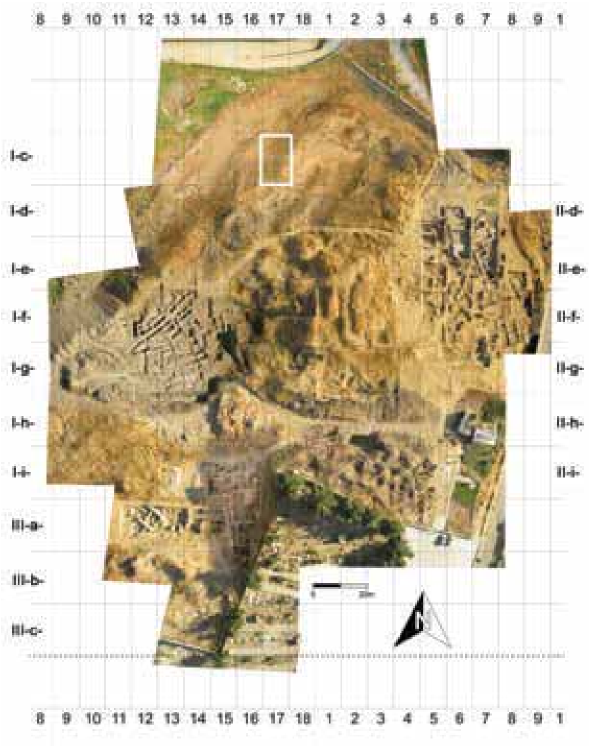
A large-scale excavation in the northern part of the site (see figs 44 – 45), carried out by archaeologists from the University of Saarbrücken, brought to light the first extensive architectural evidence for the Middle Bronze Age I period at Kamid el-Loz. Before presenting the evidence, a short note will be given concerning the surveying and the establishment of the grids on the *tell* (see fig. 43), first established by the survey team from Saarbrücken. When the team from Freiburg began the excavations at Kamid el-Loz in 1997, this grid was no longer exposed, and the documents concerning the former surveying activities were no longer available. We thus set up a new grid. In the course of our excavations, however, we came across measure-

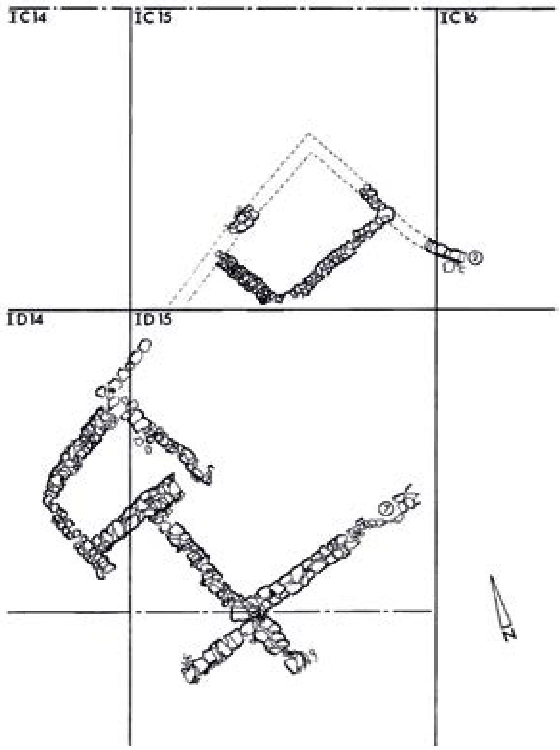


◀ Fig. 43: The overlapping grids. Source: Archive Heinz.

ment points of the older system, which we integrated into and connected with the new grid. The results of the excavation of the Freiburg team will be presented under the new grid (i.e. **I-f-13**), while the results of the team from Saarbrücken will be shown in the old grid (i.e. **I F 13**). Where we show the results of both teams, these will be shown on the new grid.

The house, built in the northern area (area IV, see figs 44 – 45), was constructed according to what we can already call the local traditional construction method, known from early remains captured in our four trenches. Stones formed the walls' foundations, onto which the builders had placed bricks to construct the house walls. The building covered an area of at least 15m x 10m and thus encompassed at least 150 square meters, perhaps more if it was a two-story house. At least five rooms have been preserved; all were





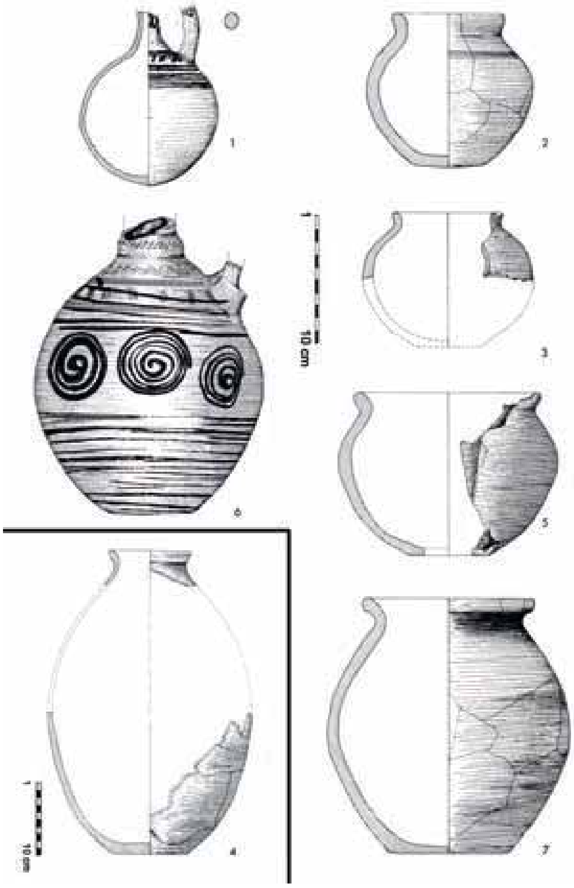
▲ Figs. 44, 45: Location (I-c-17) of the MBA I courtyard house in the northern area (left). Source: Archive Heinz. Ground plan (right, grid Hachmann, building period 8, building level 21). Source: Echt 1984: 127, Abb. 16.

aligned around the courtyard. We thus have a classical courtyard house. While we cannot yet estimate the actual serviceable life of the building, we know how its use expired. The house was set on fire and thus was destroyed by burning. After this incident, the then settlers did not rebuild it but left it to decay. We call the house a "courtyard house," a house type used worldwide since the remote past. Courtyard houses have been studied by sociologists, anthropologists, and ethnologists with respect to the houses' utilizations and functions. The findings of these studies stimulate our own research and help us to make our initial reflections concerning the modes of living in Kamid el-Loz. In such houses, household activities as a rule are carried out inside the compound. The courtyard is the center for the daily routine work; it often is the living room and the reception room for guests, and in hot climatic zones it also serves as sleeping room. In short, the courtyard functions as the most important meeting point; it is the center for communication and is used for a wide variety of social activities. As we have learned through our ongoing excavations, the courtyard house was the typical house form at Kamid el-Loz for hundreds of years and is still a building type known and used in the today's village of Kamid el-Loz.

2.1 The settler's body of knowledge: Holding on to the old and at the same time exhibiting the new

The occupation of a habitat for several hundred years means that the people who actually lived at a site like Kamid el-Loz did of course "change." But what happened to the bodies of knowledge, the habits, traditions, values, norms, rules, and regulations according to which generations of settlers were living together?

Our "scarce" remains contain some answers. A certain body of mainly technological knowledge outlived the change of generations, while other



◄ Fig. 46: Pottery from the courtyard house. Source: Marfoe 1995, Fig. 61.

fields of knowledge, especially cultural and social expressions, underwent changes and innovations, which are more apparent over the course of time.
The building materials and building techniques used in the courtyard house of the MBA I settlement matched those utilized for the construction of the EB IV / MBA I building resp. wall remains. That is, the technological knowledge – where to get the stone, how to transport and form it, and how to construct a solid stone or stone-brick wall – had been passed down through the ages and over generations. The adherence to tradition appears different when we analyze the pottery uncovered in the soundings as well as in the courtyard house (for the pottery from the latter context see fig. 46).
The potters' knowledge concerning the acquisition, processing, and use of clay, the use of the firing technology, and the use of the product ("pottery") remained more or less unaltered from the EBA IV to the MBA I period.
At the same time, new vessel forms, types, and decorations characterize the inventories of the said contexts.
The questions that arise are: Why did the settlers utilize the same technical know-how but change the favored designs of their possessions? Why did new vessel forms as well as new decorations become necessary or desirable? Did the settlers just follow a new "fashion" when they changed the vessels forms and decorations? If we consider this to be the reason behind the cultural change, we have to explain what "fashion" means and how and why "fashions" develop. This is a challenging concept, which we are already working on.
A change in knowledge, habits, needs, and options occurs over the course of generations in all societies, including that of Kamid el-Loz. The question is again, why and how? Was the visible "change" in the household items at Kamid el-Loz due to a loss of information? Did the inhabitants of the MBA I settlement no longer possess the former techniques of forming and decorating household articles? If so, how do we explain the reasons, the backgrounds, and the actual social processes of "losing" information and memory over the course of time? Finding answers to this problem is a further challenge we face in our ongoing research. There are of course more and other options to consider. Was the "new" and thus the change possibly

brought to Kamid el-Loz by immigrating settlers? Did new settlers thus arrive, who brought with them new traditions, habits, preferences, and needs concerning the composition of their household inventories? Did the new vessel forms reflect new needs in the household? Moreover, did this process contribute to the "loss" of information and familiarity with the "old"? We are currently discussing mainly changes that occurred among the household items, the pots and dishes, and thus ask if it was perhaps a change in food availability, preference, or "fashion" that made a change in dishes and pots necessary? And if so, why and how does a proposed change in foodstuffs occur? We should, for example, consider the introduction of the *narghile* in Germany, a rather recent phenomenon due to changed habits of smoking as a result of immigration to Germany.

Last but not least, we ask why the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz altered the "decoration" of their pots as well, considering that signs that are painted, engraved and applied on vessels were (and still can be) among the most appropriate and influential media to express a wide variety of cultural and social meanings! What thus made the people change the modes and perhaps contents of communicating meanings, and of what kind were these meanings? Did the new signs on the vessels symbolize the same expressions and messages as the abandoned ones, or did the occurrence of the "new" convey new meanings as well?

We are currently working on these questions and present in short our preliminary thoughts, which we are pursuing primarily at the moment. We study the phenomena of fashions and habits, which potentially influence the configuration of a household's inventory. We deal with the economic status of people. The economic situation may very well determine how many, and especially how many *different* things people have at their disposal. Certainly, traditions influence the needs and options and the liking and disliking of certain objects as well, and in addition rituals and religions determine what kind of dishes one uses for what kinds of activities. In many societies, certain vessel forms serve specific functions, as we know from our own households and today's available pots, pans, and crockery. A pan serves different functions than a sieve. The form and workmanship of dishes and pots thus differ according to their functions. In accordance with changing access to or changing preferences of certain foodstuffs, household inventories change. Moreover, the forms and types of household equipment and the decorations on pots potentially express a wide range of symbolic meanings, as reflected above. Changes thus in the articles of everyday use are connected to and initiated by the trends that occur in the above named fields, knowledge, needs, fashions, habits, and traditions as well as in the economic situations of people. Changes as well as continuities in the use of artifacts that people have at their disposal are thus valuable sources of information about what was taking place, and what is taking place in societies today. Needless to say, it is worthwhile to examine the entire spectrum of artifacts very carefully – a task that we already devote ourselves to in our ongoing research.

Conclusions: The early beginnings – what information does the early material legacy reveal concerning the people of and the communal life at Kamid el-Loz?

Although neither the visitor to a site nor the archaeologist "see" a lot in a small sounding, we all learn a lot about the past when we know how to "read" the excavated archaeological remains. That is, we know how to "read" and understand the development of strata and the occurrence of the material remains in the layers and how to "decode" artifacts with regard to the references that these contain to their past producers and users. We converge on possible answers preferably by using a wide spectrum of questions. It is the questions and the cognitive interests of the archaeologists, the excavators, and the readers of archaeological reports (thus you, who are now reading this) that guide the direction of our research into the past and the areas on which we focus when we are interested in the past modes of life – in people and society.

We currently believe, with respect to the observed material culture, that the site Kamid el-Loz was occupied for several hundred years (from EBA IV to MBA I) without disruption. That is, even the humble evidence we have at our disposal concerning the early settlement activities at Kamid el-Loz from the EBA IV to the MBA I period provides us with insights into aspects of the local history. The historical information conveys, in addition, data concerning the political, economic, social, and cultural developments. People kept the site as a habitat; that is, it was politically possible to stay at the site. The economic potential of the site to ensure the subsistence of the locals was given, and the inhabitants knew how to utilize these resources for their benefit. Although we do not yet know the kind of social organization used by the people at Kamid el-Loz, we can assert that they cooperated within the settlement and with their neighbors. More concretely, the oven uncovered in sounding 1 and dating to the EBA IV / MBA I period, the isochronal stone setting in trench 4, and the courtyard house of the early Middle Bronze Age (MBA I) give us preliminary insights into the teamwork of the settlers as well as into the structural design of the settlement and the distribution of activities over the site! Pottery (among several other categories of objects that we will analyze and present in our upcoming studies) was an integral part of the activities carried out in each respective area throughout the entire period of time. We can thus state once more: By carefully studying even the few material remains at hand for the early beginnings and by extending the material studies to questions concerning the knowledge, needs, and actions of the past settlers, we get a solid variety of initial insights into the daily life at ancient Kamid el-Loz. Why the developments occurred in each individual case alludes to a topic that remains to be investigated in our forthcoming studies. We can postulate the continuous use of Kamid el-Loz over a certain period of time as well as the occurrence of cultural change over time. We do not yet know if Kamid el-Loz at that specific time was a village or an urban settlement. What we know, however, from surveys and further excavations carried out in both the immediate vicinity and in the surrounding area is that Kamid el-Loz was since its early beginnings (EBA IV / MBA I), integrated into a lively neighborhood.

Further Reading:

Trench 5 / area III-a-16
Sounding in room 8 of the Middle Bronze Age palace: BAAL 14, 2010: 97.

IV. Residential area north
Echt 1984: 127; Hachmann 1989: 66ff.

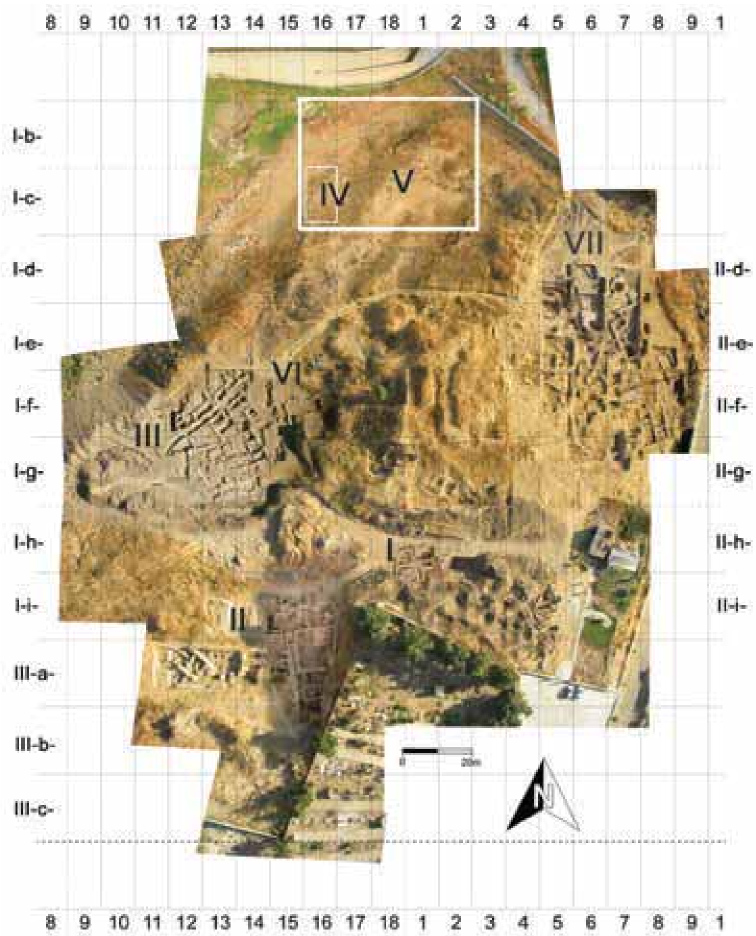
The early beginnings (EBA IV to MBA I c. 2000 – 1750 B.C.):
A short summary in table form

Period	**Evidence**				
MBA I	pottery **trench 1**	pottery **trench 2**	trodden floor **trench 5 III-a-16** pottery **trench 3**	pottery **trench 4**	courtyard house **residential area north, building period 8, building level 21**
EBA IV / MBA I	walls, oven, pottery **trench 1 I-f-12**	pottery **trench 2 III-a-12-14**	pottery **trench 3 III-a-16**	stone setting, pottery **trench 4 II-h-1**	-

3. Urban beginnings?

What evidence is needed to classify Kamid el-Loz as urban during the second phase of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA II c. 1750 – 1550 /1500 B.C.)?

Early Bronze Age I/II/III	Early Bronze Age IV / Middle Bronze Age I	Middle Bronze Age I	Middle Bronze Age II	Late Bronze Age I/II
3000 – 2000 B.C.	c. 2000 B.C.	2000 – 1750 B.C.	1750 – 1550/1500 B.C.	1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.



◄ Fig. 47: The site and the location of the named excavation areas. Source: Archive Heinz.

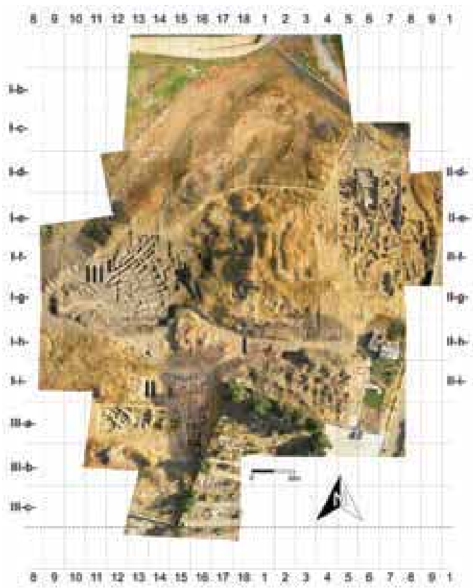
The mode of life in the Middle Bronze Age Levant is classified as "urban", a characterization that is based initially on the excavated evidence throughout the entire area. Whether we call a settlement rural or urban, however, depends on the parameters we use to characterize a place. The scientists working in the field of Urban Studies and dealing with this question, developed definitions of these terms: A place is urban when it reveals a certain architectural "equipment" and a certain kind of spatial design. A city is

characterized by having public buildings, buildings that serve communal tasks – political, economic, and administrative as well as religious ones. It is distinguished by a variety of formal and functional districts (for example, areas for public functions, residential areas, and artisan quarters) and a network of roads that interconnect these areas (see i.a. Frick 2006). The material inventory of a city is the result of the organizational needs and options, the lifestyle, politics, and economy of the community. All spheres of communal life play a part in the development of a city, that is, the transformation of a rural society into an urban community. Our analysis of the material culture shows that this major transformation of Kamid el-Loz into an urban center occurred or was completed in the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age II period at the latest. The range of consequences, which urbanization processes have on the social order of a community, should be obvious. It is thus of specific relevance both to find out what triggered the transformation and to study the process through which the changes were implemented. The question of how and why urban development began at Kamid el-Loz is one of the major foci in our ongoing research project.

3.1 Are there signs for urban life at Kamid el-Loz?

A visitor walking on the site of Kamid el-Loz "sees" the following scene: Entering the site and turning to the west, she or he will pass remains of solid stone walls and a mass of burnt bricks and recognize that these are remnants of a monumental building (area I) destroyed by fire. In the vicinity of these remains, the observer will come across another grand house, also built of stone and brick, consisting of several rooms and a huge courtyard, which also shows immense signs of a heavy conflagration (area II). The first impression that remains is that the people living then at Kamid el-Loz, needed, could afford, and knew how to build monumental buildings and that these buildings fell victim to a vast blaze. The location of these buildings, their size, and the expenditure necessary to build them prompts ar-

▼ Figs 48, 49: The site, the location of the functional specific areas and an aerial overview over areas I, II, III. Source: Archive Heinz.





chaeologists to think about the building's possible functions. Tentatively, we designate (and later explain why) building no. I as an administrative center and building no. II as the local palace. The settlers occupied three more areas at the time. There were residential buildings in the west (area III), in the north (area IV) as well as in the east (VII) (see fig. 47). Two further monumental structures belonged to the then architectural inventory of Kamid el-Loz: remains of the fortification of the settlement (area V) in the north and the local temple building (area VI), situated between the residential area and the palace habitat. Unfortunately, not one of these latter mentioned structures (areas IV, V, and VI, see fig. 47) is still visible today. They fell victim to the plundering and destruction of the site during the Lebanese civil war (1975 – 1990).

3.2 On what theoretical basis do archaeologists assign specific functions to specific buildings?

"Common sense" knowledge of everyday life is always fundamental in first describing and then analyzing the built environment. We archaeologists incorporate common sense knowledge into scientific knowledge when we integrate the findings of our own inquiries (see chapters 1.4 – 2.1) and of those social, cultural, and historical sciences that pursue comparable questions (see i.a. Delitz 2009a, 2009b; Lefebvre 2003/1974; Low/Lawrence-Zúniga 2009/2003). That is, we are looking for clues on how and why the built environment potentially informs us about the social orders, needs, and options of their builders and users and thus, what the signs for specific functions as well as for the social and cultural meanings of the man-made world could be in each specific context. We evaluate the findings of the above-mentioned studies and scrutinize their potential as explanatory models, as a base to work out theoretical approaches and as starting point for interpretations of the ancient architecture and spatial design. Based on the insights of the social sciences do archaeologists develop means to investigate the functions and meanings of the built environment, and their conjunction with the social world. In this way, "common sense" knowledge is transformed methodically into a sound scientific explanation. The past, however, is different from the present. Neither common sense knowledge nor scientifically gained insights into functions and meanings of contemporary buildings can be applied by direct analogy to the past, as explained above. Rather, in the first instance, archaeologists study the contexts in which lifestyles, social arrangements, cultural and general conditions of life, political needs, and economic options develop, according to which people are and were living in the present and in the past. We need to understand the conditions under which certain developments occur, the so-called "*Möglichkeitsbedingungen*" that render certain developments possible. We add to these studies another decisive question: How, if at all, are the needs and options of community life expressed in architecture and spatial design, and if they are, then why was it done so in each case ? Moreover, archaeologists not only analyze the correlations between social lives and built environments, but we also try to explain the mutual influence of social orders, cultural meanings, and specific functions of architecture and spatial design on each other. The intention of powerful institutions for example, to be visible and

recognizable as such becomes understandable when we take into account the findings of the empirical and theoretical research of architectural sociology. Their studies emphasize the reinforcing effect of spatial planning and visible monumental architecture as powerful means of political representation. The mosque in today's Kamid el-Loz is an illustrative example for according multiple signal effects of monumental architecture.

The combination of these inventories of knowledge leads to preliminary, hypothetical explanations concerning the functions and meanings of the excavated material culture, here the architecture and spatial design. Hypothetical, however, does not mean arbitrary. The explanation archaeologists give must be recognized as logical and comprehensible by the reader based on the evidence itself. The hypothetical explanation is accepted until someone modifies or refutes it based on new insights. Critical archaeology encourages all readers (and therefore you, the one who is now reading this!) to examine each explanation given, to rethink it, and to improve it if possible.

3.3 Ancient texts: A further valuable source for drafting assumptions

According to the written evidence known from the Levant, Mesopotamia, and other areas in the vicinity of Kamid el-Loz, powerful groups of religious and political functionaries presided over the urban societies of Western Asia since at least the 3rd millennium B.C. (For further information on ancient cuneiform texts, it is worth reading: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuneiform). The representatives of the religious and political arenas governed powerful institutions, designated in these texts as "Houses of the Gods" and "Big Houses," concepts translated by philologists as "temples" and "palaces." In the past, the potentates of Western Asia explicitly highlighted their building activities as unmistakable signs of their power. According to these texts (and see the insights of the sociologists concerning the meanings of monumental architecture) was the structural design of the ancient cities of vital importance for the presentation and legitimation of the ruling order. The building of palaces, and in particular the building of temples by the earthly rulers was regarded as an indispensable component of worship (for further information see http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/bibliography/). Where kings and priests formed the upper class of urban societies, according to the ancient texts, monumental and extraordinary buildings would be a necessary part of the cityscape. A temple or palace building, once established, had to remain in the originally selected location. It had to stay there, even if it had to be repaired or rebuilt. Over the course of time, these maintained buildings form extensive sequences of buildings superimposed on each other. The ancient cuneiform texts thus reveal insights into the social circumstances, rules, and regulations according to which, seen from the standpoint of the then actors, the decision-making authorities considered it necessary to give prominence to some (and only some!) of the buildings in their local neighborhood.

When archaeologists thus uncover monumental and extraordinary architecture in the spatial design of an ancient Near Eastern site (i.e. excavate these sequences), we assume in the first place that the "clients" behind these buildings were the political and religious elites of that locality, in our case,

of the Middle Bronze Age city of Kamid el-Loz. Besides this is the second assumption, that according monumental buildings in the archaeological record could be temples resp. palaces – an assumption which must then be substantiated. (As a reminder, we reflect again on the reasons for creating the monumental mosque in today's Kamid el-Loz: Why did the authorities initiate, fund, and carry out the project? What allows us to assign the function "mosque" to the building and what social and functional as well as political implications does this interpretation have?)

3.4 Practical application

3.4.1 A complex of houses labeled as residential area

A settlement is inhabited by people, and these people need living spaces. Recent observations of rural and urban dwelling areas show that residents very often build their houses in more or less comparable styles, types, and sizes; this also applies to the building techniques, the building materials used, and the amount of labor and economic means invested. These activities result in neighborhoods with a rather uniform built environment.

▼ Fig. 50: The (Late Bronze Age) residential area. Source: Archive Heinz.



The findings of sociological and architectural studies and the theories of social and cultural studies connect this overall formal homogeneity of buildings and spatial design with a similarity of options, means, and needs of those living in these accommodations. Based on insights gained into the configuration of a dwelling area and the underlying social factors that influence and shape its formal and structural order, we postulate that larger aggregations of more or less similar buildings within one area of an excavated settlement are likely to constitute residential areas.

3.4.2 Houses of unique type, size, and location – what do archaeologists associate with these features?

If buildings in a built-up area have a unique form, it presupposes, according to our hypothesis, a unique and extraordinary investment into the construction of these buildings. Why such an effort was necessary to set up these structures – at Kamid el-Loz, these are the structures we call palace, administrative building, and temple – we explore, as elucidated above, by evaluating the empirical data gained and the explanations worked out by social scientists as well as by reflecting the information given by the cuneiform texts. The insights we gain by these approaches do we then integrate into our research of the contexts, conditions, and "*Möglichkeitsbedingungen*" of the time when the settlers built these buildings.

▼ Fig. 51: The palace area. Source: Archive Heinz.



3.4.3 The extraordinary buildings of Kamid el-Loz: Why do we call the palace of Kamid el-Loz the "palace"?

The building we call the "palace" not only differs in size, scale and layout within the architectural ensemble of Kamid el-Loz but also in its placement. Throughout time, this monumental building was located and continuously rebuilt on the highest point of the settlement; thus it was always elevated and could in every period be seen from a distance as a "landmark." At the same time, it was spatially, and thus as well visibly, separated from the everyday business of the residents. For centuries, the settlers – resp. those

responsible for the spatial design of Kamid el-Loz – maintained these characteristics of the spot: the location of the monumental building, its uniqueness of form and size, and its segregation from the surrounding buildings and activities. The monumental building was thus an extraordinary building within the built environment of Kamid el-Loz as measured by the effort it took to locate, build, and maintain it. But how do we substantiate our specific functional designation of the building as the "palace" and not, for example, as the temple of Kamid el-Loz? We have one piece of evidence that backs up our hypothetical functional allocation. In the rooms of the Late Bronze Age (1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.) "palace," the excavators came across cuneiform tablets – texts (see Hachmann 2012). These texts report mainly about foreign policy events. In the Late Bronze Age cities of the Levant and the neighboring areas, politics, long-distance trade, and diplomacy were always the tasks of the worldly elites. Correspondences were stored in the residence and seat of these elites. It was thus the finding of these types of texts in the (newer) palace building that provided us with supportive data to assign the Middle Bronze Age monumental building on that same spot the same function: the palace of Kamid el-Loz!

▼ Fig. 52: The monumental administrative and palace buildings (areas I and II) and the residential houses of area III. Source: Archive Heinz.



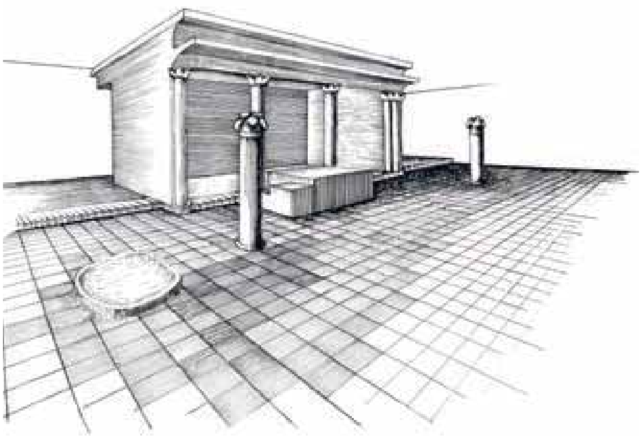
3.4.4 The only immediate neighbor of the palace – its administrators?

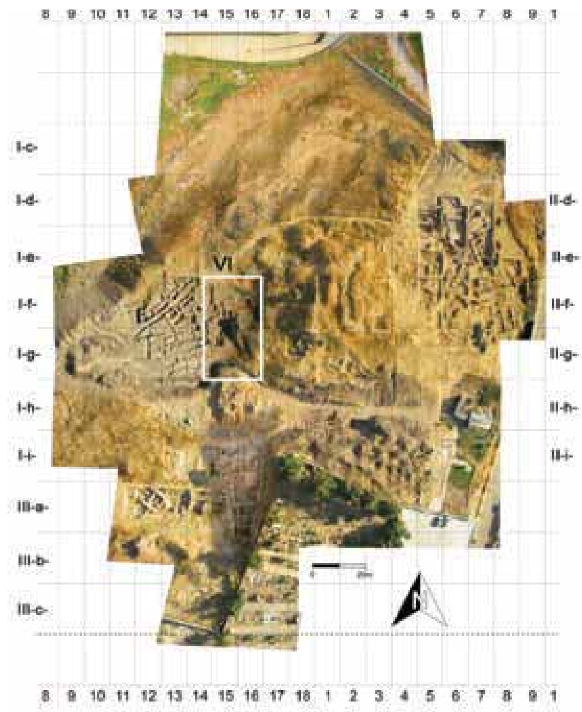
The so-called administrative area (of which we have so far excavated only a few of its carefully built monumental walls) received its preliminary functional designation because of the several seal impressions we found on the spot. Seals are the tools used by the administrations of the ancient Near Eastern societies to secure, confirm, and monitor administrative tasks. The close proximity of this building to the palace encourages us in addition to assume a functional connection between both structures. Our tentative interpretation denotes this structure thus as the seat of the palace's and the city's administration.

3.4.5 The temple: What evidence do we have to assign religious functions to a monumental building at Kamid el-Loz?

Perhaps we should first mention what evidence is still lacking in order to designate a building as the "temple" of Kamid el-Loz – and that is texts! To date we do not have any written evidence at hand that indicates the existence of such a building at Kamid el-Loz. Nevertheless, we assume that a temple might, or even should have belonged to the architectural inventory of the cities of Kamid el-Loz. Throughout ancient Near Eastern history, the building of "temples," according to the contemporary kings' inscriptions, was one of the most important obligations of the earthly elite. Setting up iconic buildings, often unique in type and size, was part of the worship of the gods and thus a major component of each ruler's political representation of himself. In the residential area of Kamid el-Loz, we unearthed one additional architectural complex, which protruded from the surrounding houses, distinguished first by its unique type (see, e.g., the so-called temple T 4) and in addition by its size (see, e.g., the so-called twin temple T 2). With the above-mentioned cultural and historical knowledge in mind, we tentatively interpret this structure as the local temple!

▼► Figs 53, 54: A sketch of temple T 2 and the location of the temple area on the site. Sources: Metzger 1983: 72; Archive Heinz.





3.5 A final remark

The discussion above should have clarified the challenges archaeologists face when trying to define specific functions and meanings of individual buildings, found in the archaeological excavations on-site. There is still much work to be done to improve the method. This improvement is urgently needed when we consider the impact that archaeologists' reflections on the life circumstances of ancient societies have on historiography. Whether archaeologists call a building "palace", and thus the seat of a "king", a "community center", used as meeting place for the community members, or allocate several functions to one and the same building, it affects our view on the modes of life in the ancient societies as well as our reconstruction of history significantly. Whether a "king" or an assembly of community members governed a community means a big difference for the relevant society. Each community would have been organized according to completely different rules and regulations, norms, values, and structures. Depending thus on what archaeologists see in a building and according to what arguments archaeologists use to define the building's functions, very different views on the ancient cultural, social, and political modes of life emerge. Thus even seemingly minor aspects, such as defining the function of a building or using certain terms (palace versus community center), will eventually lead to very different perceptions of history. The analysis of the functional designations of the buildings set up at Kamid el-Loz over the course of time (excavated and maintained by us) illustrates this critical issue.
A critical use of the applied terminology and the disclosure of the background of our interpretations allows the reader to analyze the archaeological report critically and to develop her / his own reflections, statements, and interpretations of the presented material culture.

Further Reading:

I. Administrative area
BAAL 14, 2010: 63ff.
BAAL 15, 2011: 48ff.

II. Palace area
BAAL 14, 2010: 82ff.
BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 153ff.
BAAL 15, 2011: 42ff., 48ff.

III. Residential area west
BAAL 14, 2010: 68ff, 75ff.
BAAL 15, 2011: 56ff.

IV. Residential area north
Echt 1984: 55ff.
Hachmann 1989: 62ff.

V. Fortification
Echt 1984: 56f.

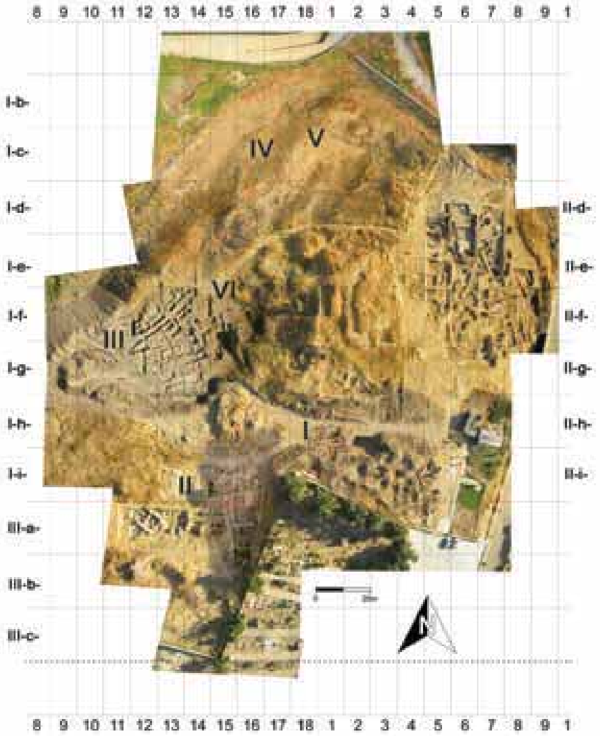
VI. Temple area
BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 101ff.
BAAL 14, 2010: 73ff.
Metzger 2012

VII. Residential area east
BAAL 14, 2010: 33ff.

4. Urban beginnings – city 1

The evidence is still scarce and the development is diverse, but urban beginnings are undeniable for the Middle Bronze Age II period at Kamid el-Loz (MBA II c. 1750 – 1550 / 1500 B.C.)

Early Bronze Age I/II/III	Early Bronze Age IV / Middle Bronze Age I	Middle Bronze Age I	Middle Bronze Age II	Late Bronze Age I/II
3000 – 2000 B.C.	c. 2000 B.C.	2000 – 1750 B.C.	1750 – 1550/1500 B.C. **City 1**	1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.



◄ Fig. 55: The site and the location of the named excavation areas. Source: Archive Heinz.

The Middle Bronze Age period II (MBA II) encompasses about 250 years (1750 – 1500 B.C.). During these 250 years, far-ranging developments occurred at Kamid el-Loz. The communities living in Kamid el-Loz initiated, experienced, and lived through an eventful history. The locality passed through multi-faceted events, which materialized in the architecture and spatial design, in massive destruction layers, in signs of reconstruction and development, and in proofs of cultural continuity, as well as in modifications of and breaks with the local social and cultural traditions. We see two grand stages of early urban development (city 1 and city 2) and two major incidents that interrupted these (anomie 1 and anomie 2). Both stages of the early urban development of Kamid el-Loz ended in a vast conflagration. The blazes attacked the palace, the temple, and the area of the administrative building and affected the residential area as well as the fortification of the city. Each of these areas was affected differently by these conflagrations. Each shows its own story and progression. Considered together, these stories reveal the Middle Bronze Age II history of Kamid el-Loz, that is, the history of human ac-

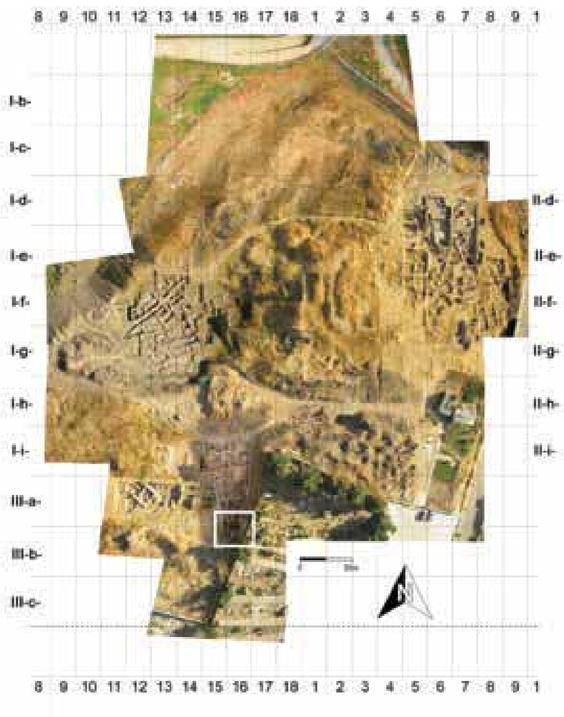
tions, needs, and options and the settlers' opportunities to create the local modes of life.

4.1 The first urban development known at Kamid el-Loz is visible in the early MBA II material remains (beginning c. 1750 B.C.)

The first townsmen of Kamid el-Loz set up monumental buildings with different functions: the palace, the administrative building, and the temple, constructed the fortification and built their residential areas. They expressed aspects of the habits and regulations of communal life through the architectural inventory inter alia by the apparent bonds between certain functions and specific formal characteristics of buildings, by the location and distribution of functions over space, and by the respective integration and segregation of functions within the urban area. At Kamid el-Loz we can follow these processes of forming the urban material framework of the immaterial social needs for nearly a thousand years, beginning with the development of the said first urban settlement in the early MBA II.

4.1.1 The story of the first known palace of Kamid el-Loz, dating to the early phase of the MBA II period and named Middle Bronze Age Palace 3 (MBP 3)

The structure that we call the earliest palace building so far known at Kamid el-Loz and that we named the "Middle Bronze Age palace no. 3" (MBP 3) is represented by two rooms, room 12 and room 12* – so far it consists of three walls, solidly built of stone and brick, and two floors, carefully covered with smoothed stone slabs. According to the pottery found here, this structure was set up in the early phase of the advanced Middle Bronze Age period c. 1750 B.C. (see figs 57 – 58).



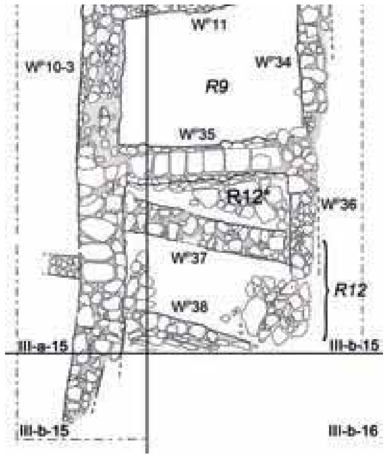
► Fig. 56: The location of the palace area. Source: Archive Heinz.

A short note about our system of numbering the architectural structures is necessary here: We count the buildings according to the sequence in which we dig them up, thus from top to bottom. The structure we call MBP 3 is the third MBA II building we excavated on the spot, which was overlaid by two more recent MBA II structures. (These are the palace MBP 2 and structure MBP 1, the latter not a palace, as far as we know today but a small house,

set up as an interim utilization of the palace habitat, see chapter 7.1).

Although the architectural evidence is again scarce, we call the rooms – the walls and floors excavated – the remains of the oldest known MBA II palace of Kamid el-Loz so far. Why do we do so? Three considerations led us to this functional identification: the utilization history of the habitat and the rather secure identification of the newer, Late Bronze Age buildings set up here as palaces; the tradition of ancient Near Eastern societies to keep the initial functional utilization of a habitat for centuries; and the extraordinary location of the habitat within the settlement.





▲ Figs 57, 58: Walls and floors of MBP 3. Source: Archive Heinz.

In chapter 3.4.3 I elucidated our approach and brought forward our arguments for identifying the area in question as the habitat of the palace. The palace, in this case the Late Bronze Age one, was built over older monumental buildings and structures, among them the architectural remains of the early MBA II period. The spot thus had a long-lasting utilization history, which not only outlasted the Middle Bronze Age II period but also began much earlier. Remember that in trench 3 (see figs 31 – 32), dug out from "room 12", we uncovered pottery dating to the EBA IV / MBA I period. Trench 5 (see fig. 42), located north of and close to trench 3, brought to light a trodden floor we dated to the MBA I period. The walls forming the remains of palace MBP 3 are built over these earlier remains. For centuries, the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz thus used this habitat; at the latest from the MBA II period until the end of the Late Bronze Age they would time and again set up monumental buildings on this space. This continuous use of the habitat is consistent with the well-known tradition mentioned above, according to which people in ancient Near Eastern societies continued the same functional utilization of a space over centuries. Even if these buildings were destroyed by violent actions or were renovated, the builders would make every effort to keep a building with its original function in its earliest location. It is the long-lasting utilization of the spot and the habit cultivated in ancient Near Eastern societies of retaining the original function of a place that led us to interpret the few but solidly build MBA II structures as the remains of an early palace building (and we might well expect even earlier palace structures when we succeed in excavating trenches 3 and 5 on a larger scale). The requirement of consistency, the importance of tradition, and the value of history, according to our thesis, directed the then settlers in their decision as to where to locate the palace in the early urban environment of Kamid el-Loz.

The extraordinary location of the early remains, set up on the highest point of the city, constitutes a further aspect that supports our func-



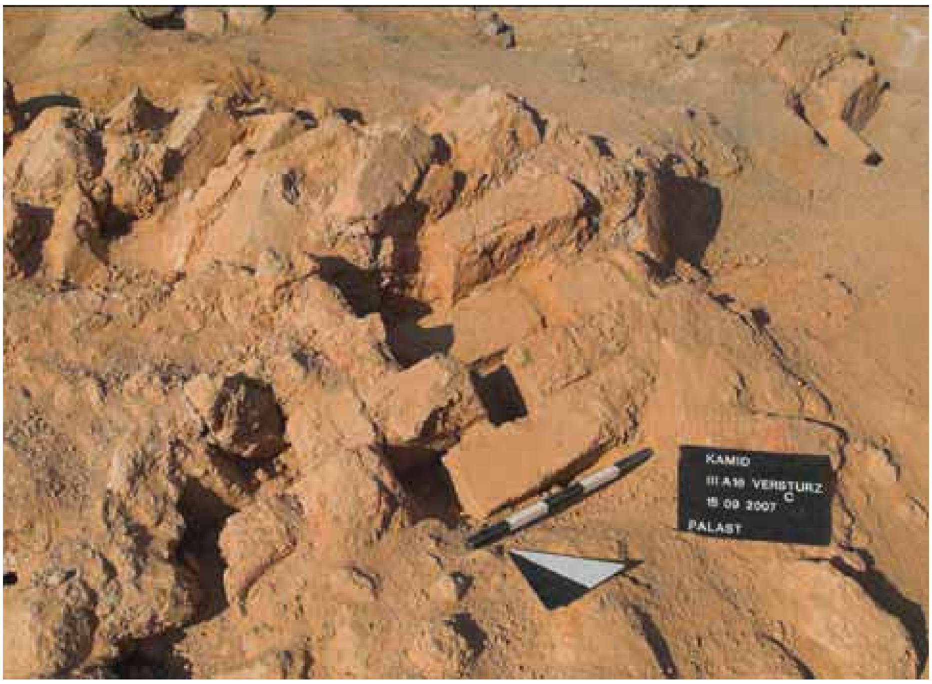
◄ Fig. 59: The former palace location is today partly built over by the mosque of Kamid el-Loz. Source: Archive Heinz.

tional designation. According to the findings of the social sciences and cultural studies, among them urban geography and historical building research, politically important buildings were more often than not placed in locations were they would serve, among other things, to function as a landmark, to be seen from afar, and to enable the users of these buildings to look over the city and its surrounding hinterland. These insights correspond to the results archaeologists gained by studying the location of equivalent buildings in ancient Near Eastern urban contexts.

If we accept this functional identification of room 12 and room 12* as the first known evidence so far for a local palace, this will have consequences for the interpretation of the social order that characterized the then society of Kamid el-Loz. (See the hints given by the ancient texts concerning the social and political order of then communities in chapter 3.3). We currently posit that the society was structured hierarchically. The hierarchical order, according to our thesis, was based in part on a functional differentiation, at the top of which the residents of the palace, an earthly political elite, stood. Constructed in accordance with this assumed social hierarchy was the hierarchy of the city's build order, in which the palace occupied the top position in the city's terrain. Although this interpretation would again be supported by the insights of social scientific studies dealing with the same subject, however, we are currently pursuing the question of whether other forms of social organization beyond a strict hierarchical one are conceivable for ancient Near Eastern societies such as Kamid el-Loz.

The story of the palace building at Kamid el-Loz began, according to our paradigm, at the latest with the making of building MBP 3. How the story of the first palace ended is revealed by a massive accumulation of burnt remains. A vast conflagration hit the palace MBP 3 and destroyed it. The brick walls had knocked over the stone foundations and both rooms (courtyards) were thus crammed with the walls' burned rubble.

According to our inter-pretation of the social and political meanings of the palace, the fire thus destroyed the seat of one of the most important insti-

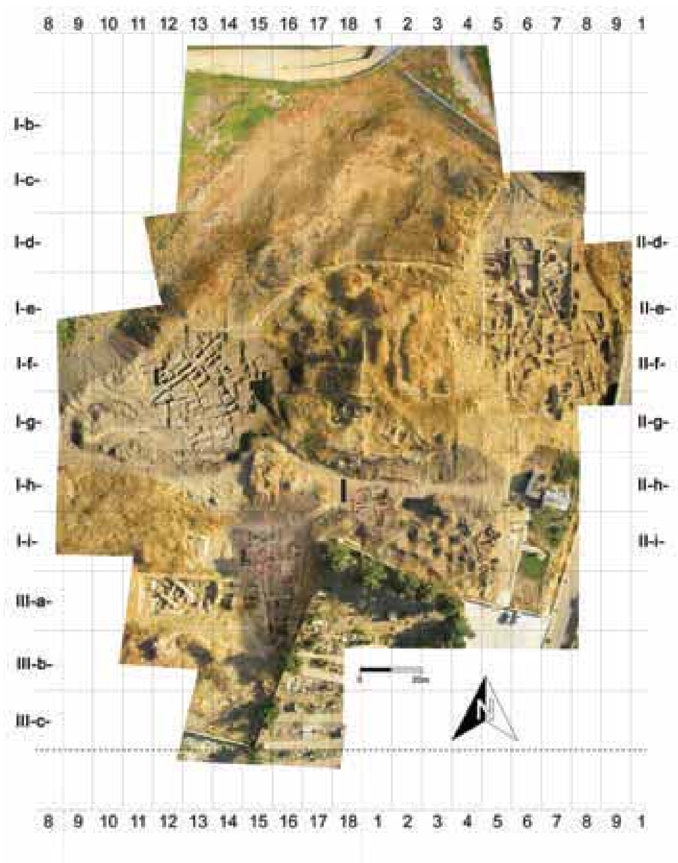


► Fig. 60: Heaps of burnt bricks in the palace area. Source: Archive Heinz.

tutions of Kamid el-Loz. We are currently discussing intensively the possible consequences of this event, that is, if the destruction of the building had also destroyed the institution or perhaps even killed the power holders. Moreover, we are deliberating about the extent to which this blaze affected the life of the then inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz, who after all were witnesses of the visible destruction of the center of power! Last but not least, it remains debatable as to what caused this destruction. Experimental archaeology has found that it is rather difficult to burn a stone-brick built house, even if the roof is made of wood. We are working on solutions to these questions: why did the palace burn, what caused the fire, and who was responsible?

4.1.2 The administrative area, phase 2: Documented by another massive accumulation of burnt bricks, dating to the early phase of the Middle Bronze Age II

Another monumental building was located in the area immediately northeast of the palace, an area that we presently call the administrative building or area.





◄▲ Figs 61, 62: The location of the administrative area and an aerial view of the habitat. Source: Archive Heinz.

We do not yet know the final size and type of this building. What we have again uncovered so far is a massive accumulation of burnt bricks, which only the burning of a monumental building could have produced. We see therein the result of the same event that destroyed the palace. Both buildings, according to our interpretation, fell victim to the same burning.

Our tentative functional identification of the burnt rubble as the remains of an early MBA II administrative building demands an explanation. This assignment was initially based on the finds we made in this area, among





▲ Fig. 63, 64: The administrative area and the burnt layer of bricks. Source: Archive Heinz.

them seal impressions that indicate administrative activities (see chapter 3.4.4).

The effective operation of a palace requires the support of the city's administration. To locate this function and the needed specialists in the immediate neighborhood of the palace throughout time seems reasonable. As our pottery studies showed, both buildings indeed were located side by side and were simultaneously in use. It is these hints and considerations – the finds, the close proximity of the two buildings, the utilization history, and the needs of an urban settlement – which led us to designate the burnt remains as those of the local administrative building.

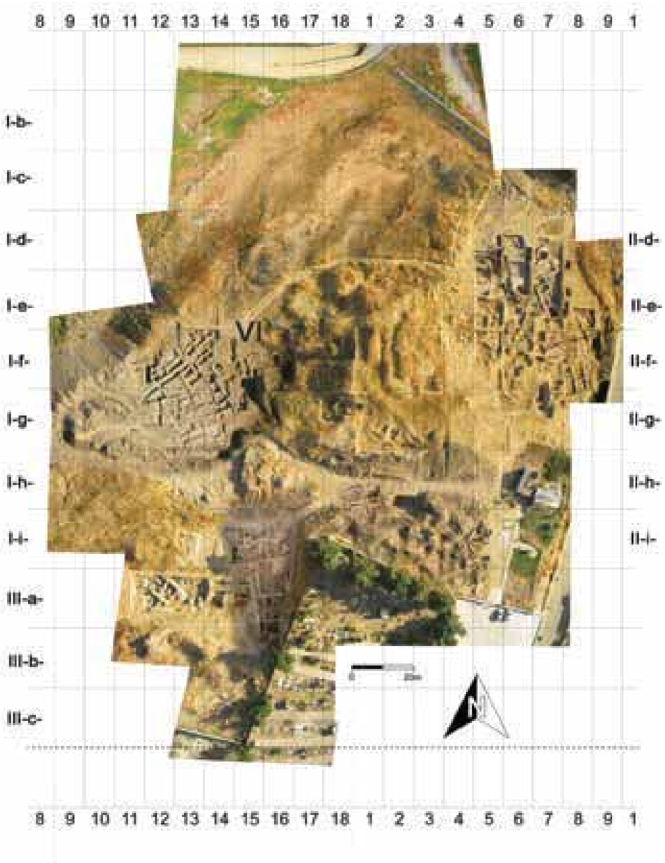


▲ Figs 65-67: Seals and sealings from the habitat. From left to right: Find no. 398 (1,3cm x 1,2cm); Find no. 399 (9,4cm x 7cm); Find no. 396 (3,3cm x 1,7cm). Source: Archive Heinz.

4.1.3 A further mass of burnt bricks: The earliest evidence for a temple (T 6 ?) dating to the early MBA II period?

In 1997, we, the team from Freiburg and Kamid el-Loz, resumed excavations in the so-called temple area of Kamid el-Loz. No architectural remains were preserved on the surface. It was this area, however, where the excavators of the University of Saarbrücken had uncovered several monumental buildings that had been erected consecutively on top of each other, dating from the Middle Bronze Age period (temples T 4 and T 5, MBA II) to the end of the Late Bronze Age (T 1, T 2, and T 3).

In 1997, we first cleared the area and removed the rubble. In 1999, we started the excavation in this precinct afresh in order to further clarify the utilization history of the temple area. The oldest remains we have been able to uncover so far, however, were neither solid walls nor a proper ground floor





◄▲ Figs 68, 69: The location of the temple area. Source: Archive Heinz.

of another temple building. Instead, we found a huge pile of burnt and weathered bricks, a context and situation that resembled very much the situation in the so-called administrative area. Again, we postulate that only the burning of a monumental building ("temple T 6" ?) could have resulted in this huge accumulation of bricks. This means, we act on the assumption that here, as well as in the palace and administrative area, the former settlers constructed a monumental building, which was destroyed by a vast conflagration.

Several questions concerning the story of that burnt structure arose while we were excavating it. What type of building had this once monumental structure represented? What functions had it served? When had the settlers built it? When did it burn down, and why? Not all questions can be answered, but some preliminary considerations are possible. The building's type will probably remain unknown. The building's function may be determined by referring to the local tradition, illustrated by the more recent utilization history of the spot (for example, as elucidated above with our reflections on the palace area). The earlier excavators identified this area convincingly as the one where for centuries the temples of Kamid el-Loz were located (for details, see chapters 6 and 8.7). This tradition of keeping the temple located at the same spot over long periods of time should thus allow us to posit that this practice was also in use here and to postulate that the masses of burnt bricks that we excavated were the remains of an early temple (and if so we would number the building "temple T 6") at Kamid el-Loz.

The dating of this buildings' foundation, the chronological determination of its destruction, and the attempt to correlate the burning of the temple area with the blaze that had destroyed the palace MBP 3 and the administrative area presents a challenge for us that we have not yet resolved entirely.



▲ Fig. 70: The hoard vessel, height 16cm. Source: Archive Heinz.

Two basic approaches for identifying a solution are possible. One is chiefly based on pottery studies and dates the burnt remains to the MBA I period. The other, mainly reflecting the building history of the first city of Kamid el-Loz, favors a younger chronological assignment to the MBA II period.

Our initial reflection on the chronology of the temple area is based on the finding of a hoard vessel, set aside among some walls that were built on top of the burnt rubble. The vessel resembles the pots found in the MBA I northern settlement of Kamid el-Loz (see fig. 46). If this chronological assignment was verified, the context would be older than the beginning of the first urban development at Kamid el-Loz. While vessels of this type, however, indeed occur for the first time during the MBA I period (see for example Nigro 2002: 300, fig.3:9 and fig. 7:21) they remained in use until the MBA II (see Nigro 2002: fig. 20:15). A later assignment of the burnt remains to the MBA II period is thus not excluded and a corresponding dating would integrate the burning of the temple area into the history of events that characterized the first urban development at Kamid el-Loz.

Currently, we follow the later dating of the context, being well aware that the dating needs further well-founded evidence. Our present paradigm of reconstructing the history of the first urban development at Kamid el-Loz and of correlating the events that finally led to its intermittent abandonment to the beginning of anomie is the following:

The destruction of the palace (MBP 3), the administrative precinct (phase 2), and the temple area ("temple T 6") were the result of the same blaze. The isochronal annihilation of the city's infrastructure, according to our hypothesis, brought urban life in Kamid el-Loz to a halt. The community of Kamid el-Loz lost all its regulative institutions and this major breakdown in the organization of the community led to the first intermittent abandonment of city 1, that is, the beginning of the first phase of anomie.

The above elucidated considerations form a model, a hypothesis that certainly requires further proof, and a lot of work remains to be done to trans-

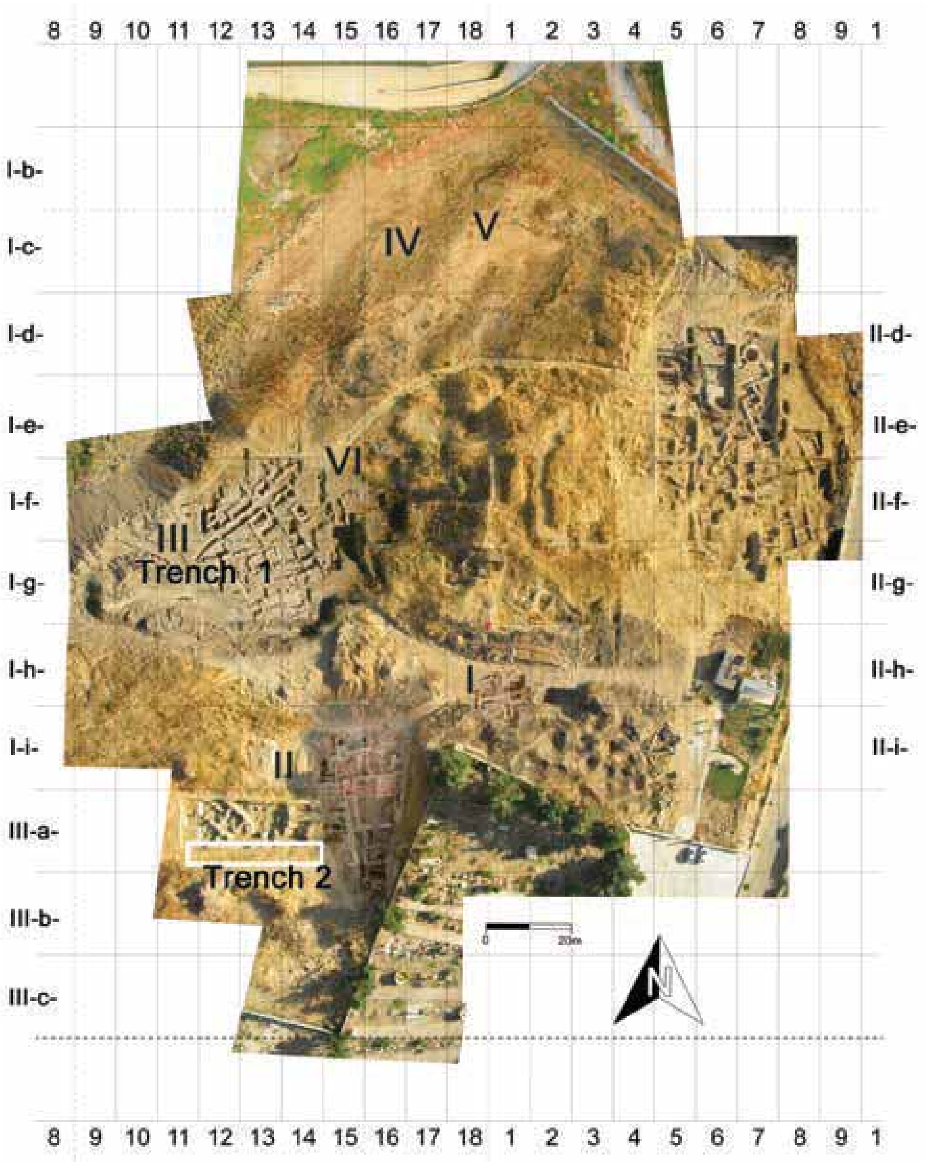
► Fig. 71: The hoard vessel and its contents. Source: Archive Heinz.



form this hypothesis into a better explanation. Further excavations that allow us to cross-link the stratigraphic information of all three areas and to connect the results to the absolute dating of the events are needed.

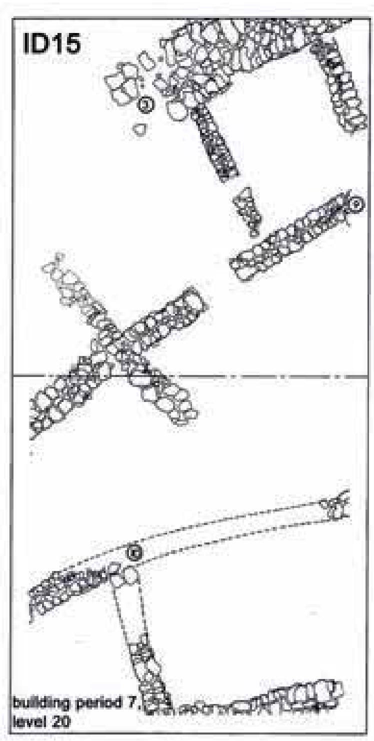
4.1.4 Where did the people live in this early urban environment? (MBA II)

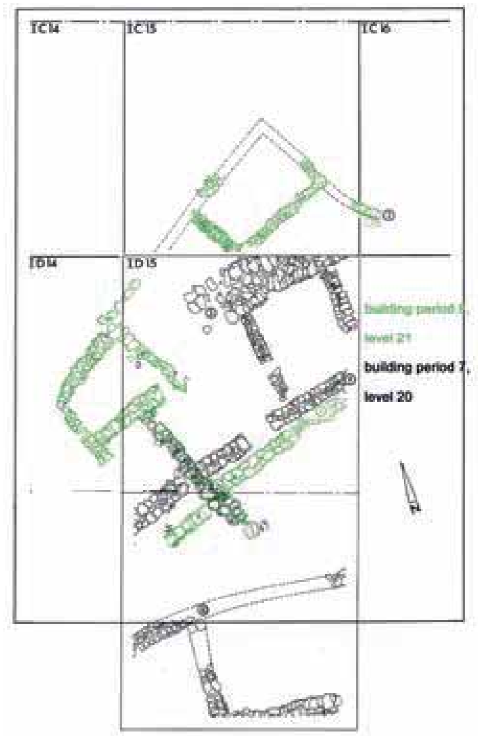
At least three areas – the districts west of the palace (see trench 2), west of the temple (see trench 1 and area III) precinct, and the northern slope of the site (see areas IV and V) – were in use at the time. Trench 2, excavated west of the palace area, and trench 1, dug west of the temple, both yielded pottery fragments that illustrate and date human activities in the areas to the MBA II period.
For the area west of the temple domain, we propose the existence of a residential zone during the MBA II period, knowing again that this proposal needs further solid evidence to be verified. Our suggestion is currently based on the mentioned pottery finds and the later utilization of the habitat during the Late Bronze Age, for which we can make the reasonable assumption that this habitat then functioned as a residential area.



◀ Fig. 72: The location of the assumed and proven MBA II residential areas. Source: Archive Heinz.

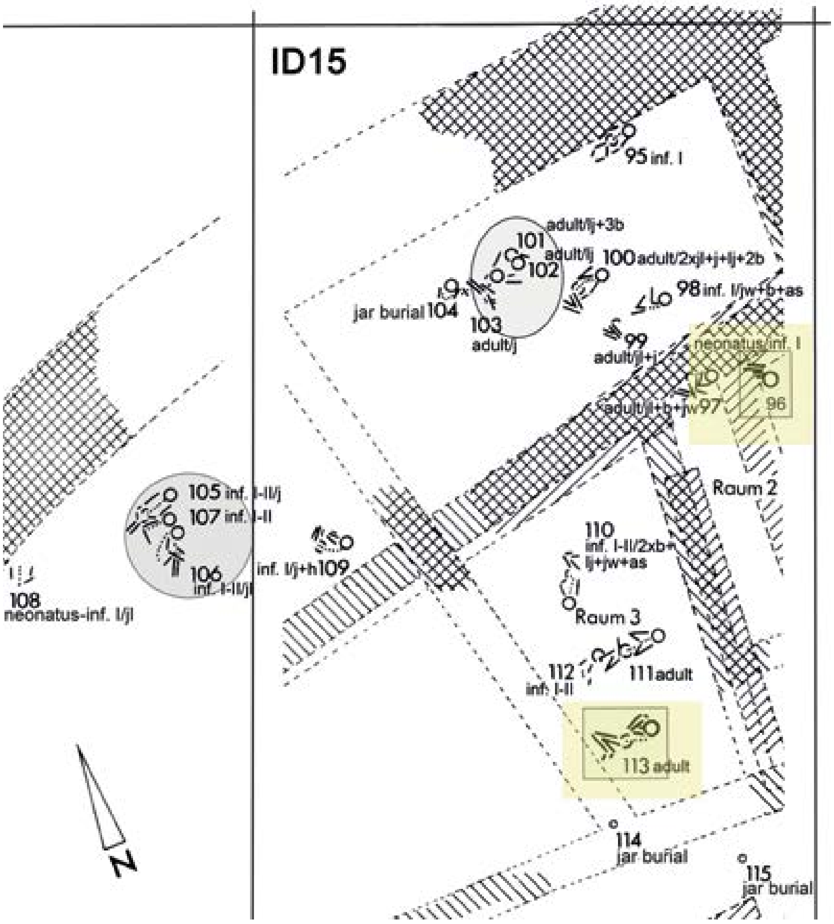
On the northern slope, the residents once again had built houses, a functional continuation that sustained a tradition launched hundreds of years before. To summarize, during the MBA I period (2000 – 1750 B.C.), the then settlers had set up a detached courtyard house in this area (area IV), which burned down and was afterwards not rebuilt. After a time span of decay and abandonment, people during the MBA II period began to resettle the area and to set up a new residential allotment (building period 7, level 20). Those who started the resettlement would have known the older function of this district or had at least known that settlers had been living here before: The builders reused a few of the older walls that had survived the decay and used the traditional construction method. Their living requirements, their demands for the houses, and their needs concerning the settlement's layout, however, differed from those of their predecessors.
The first significant alteration was the construction of a fortification wall, about 2m wide (building period 7, building level 20). This new structure obviously required a new building technique. On a stone foundation, the builders placed a superstructure made of *Stampflehm*, a solid and hard package of clay, instead of the otherwise usual brick-superstructure.





► Figs 73, 74: The MBA II settlement remains in the northern area. Left: building period 7, building level 20 (built over the house of building period 8, building level 21; MBA I; see above fig. 44, location grid Heinz: I-c-17). Right: both building levels blended over each other. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: 122, Abb. 15 and 130, Abb. 17.

The second innovation was in the placement of houses. While the residents of the MBA I settlement had set up detached courtyard houses in this habitat, the new settlers chose a different solution. They attached some of their houses directly to the fortification, that is, the city wall (building period 7, building levels 20-17), and located others south of the small alley that passed through this residential area. The narrow sector excavated does not yet reveal the type of houses they had built. However, the needs and options of the new settlers to design their residences and their residential area were different from the former ones, and changed again as well over the course of the MBA II period. Formal changes – walls were rebuilt and floor



◄ Fig. 75: Burials (no. 96 and no. 113) in the residential house, building period 7, building levels 20-17; MBA II. Location grid Heinz: I-c/d-17. Source: Wagner-Durand 2014: 54.

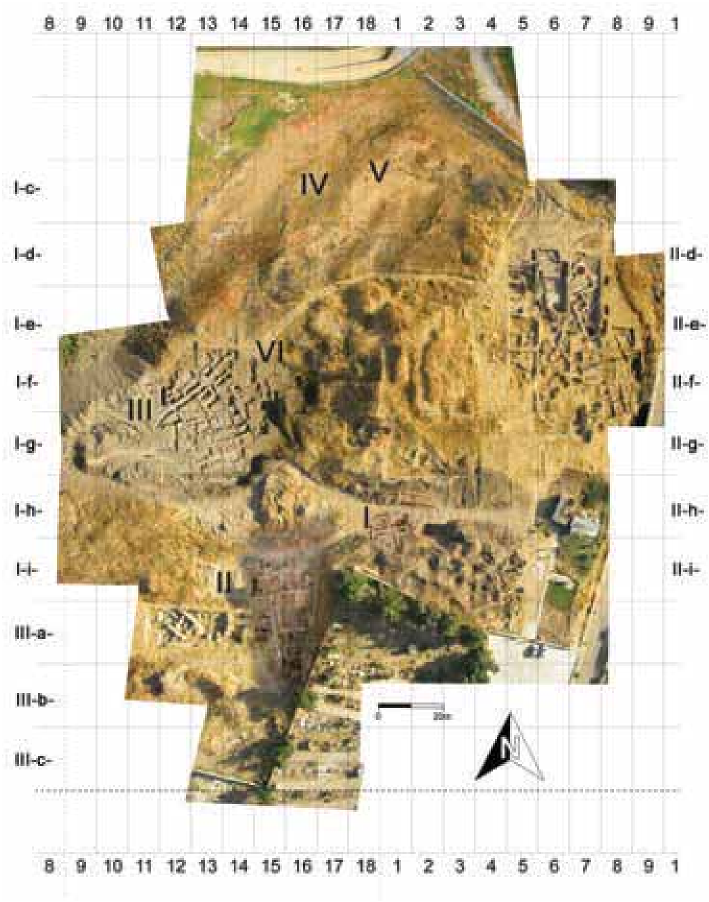
plans were altered several times – were seen in one of the houses that was attached to the fortification wall. In addition to these structural and formal innovations, the settlers introduced a burial custom previously unknown in Kamid el-Loz. The dead were now buried underneath the house floors while the house was still in use, a practice that ensured the togetherness of the social group even after the death of group members. A child was entombed underneath room 2 (grave number 96) and an adult underneath the floor of courtyard 3 (grave number 113).

The northern area of the site thus once again was established as residential area, composed of formally differing houses, traversed by at least one small passageway, and protected by a fortification wall. In addition to these formal innovations, which would have been constituted by social needs, the settlers introduced a major functional innovation: the sharing of their living area with the dead.

We cannot yet determine the duration of this occupation during the MBA II period. This mode of life came to a halt, however, and although the houses showed no signs of violent destruction, the settlers left their homes and moreover, seemingly abandoned their ancestors. Why this happened, and if the abandonment of the houses necessarily entailed the abandonment of the deceased, that is, the giving up of the caring for the dead, are matters we are still exploring.

4.1.5 Communal buildings burnt, settlers' houses decayed: When did this all happen?

The architectural remains of the first MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz leaves behind the initial impression of a prosperous local community. The buildings with communal functions as well as the residential houses and the fortification walls were all carefully built using skilled craftwork. After a period of regular settlement life, the buildings with official functions burned down and the houses were abandoned. When did this happen? And why?



▲ Fig. 76: Evidence for human activities during the early MBA II period. Source: Archive Heinz.

We proposed above not only that a palace (MBP 3), an administrative area (phase 2), and a temple (burnt bricks, "temple T 6") constituted the stock of official buildings of the first city but also that they all fell victim to the same event, the burning of the city, which we assign to an early phase of the MBA II period. At the same time, the settlers gave up the northern residential area, which did not burn, but decayed after the abandonment.

The story of the first MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz we reconstruct as follows: The city arose at the beginning of the MBA II period, that is, about 1750 B.C. It was equipped with a palace (area II), an administrative area (area I), a temple (area VI), a residential area (area IV) and the fortification (area V) in the north and our evidence hints at settlement activities in the west (areas II and III).

Our functional interpretation of the building stock goes currently hand in hand with our vision of a functionally differentiated society and a hierarchically organized community, living then in the city of Kamid el-Loz. After a period of yet unknown duration, the community was hit by a disaster. This event destroyed not only the buildings but led seemingly to the dissolution of that community. Most of the inhabitants, as signaled by the abandoned residential area in the north, left the city and ordinary city life came to a halt.

When exactly this happened, after how many years of a seemingly flourishing city life, is still a matter of debate. Why this happened and what exactly occurred will be discussed below.

4.2 The first urban development came to an end: A reflection on the misfortune that hit the city and its people and the actions and reactions of the people to the fate they experienced

The scenario we are thinking about, following the destruction of city 1, is that all buildings that once had served communal tasks were lying in ruins, and their functions, according to our working hypothesis, the administration, the religious service, and the functioning of the central political power also came to a halt. The built infrastructure had been destroyed, the political and social organization of the urban community had collapsed, and all functions of the former city had been disrupted. The settlers then left the city.

With this scenario and the excavated contexts in mind, one fact appears conspicuous: No victims of the city's conflagration have yet been found. No dead have been found buried by the rubble and the burnt remains. Were there no victims? Were the people of Kamid el-Loz able to seek shelter or did they leave before the blaze hit the city? Did they survive the blaze and then left the city? Were they forcefully removed? Or were there victims, whom the survivors retrieved and buried elsewhere? We have no evidence yet to support any of the explanations. We can hope for a clarification if we succeed in answering another question: What caused the burning? Who set the buildings on fire? Was it an assault by enemies coming from the outside? If so, why did the aggressors attack only the communal buildings and leave the dwellings untouched? Were rebellious residents from Kamid el-Loz itself fighting against the local order and establishment, locals, thus, who would not have burned down their own dwellings? But if the destruction and the casting out of the local elites was the result of a local uprising, why then had the residents given up their seemingly untouched dwelling area?

Whatever caused the violence, the above questions assume that a hostile act against the local order was the reason for the destruction. Another solution is possible, however, which may also explain the destruction of only the communal buildings and the omission of the residential houses. We know from ancient Mesopotamia that official buildings such as the temple had to be renewed from time to time. The renewal was associated with the demolition of the buildings and the cleaning of the building ground by fire (see Gudea, cylinders A and B, http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.2.1.7#, lines 330-344). Did the people from Kamid el-Loz follow this practice? Was thus the burning of the buildings not an act of aggression against the local order but the traditional means to maintain this order? Moreover, was the fulfillment of the local tradition the reason for sparing the residential area from burning? Was the ritualized cleaning only needed or even only allowed for the buildings of communal function?

All our reflections concerning the reasons for and the initiation of the burning, the progression of the event, its ending, and the consequences of the blaze for Kamid el-Loz and its inhabitants are at the moment no more than hypotheses and as such part of our ongoing research and our efforts to explain what was going on in early urban Kamid el-Loz.

Conclusions: Life in the first MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz

If the reader accepts our current interpretation of the still scarce architectural evidence, that is, some walls and stone laid floors representing the palace MBP 3, and our presupposition that the masses of burnt bricks stem from the burning of the administrative building and "temple T 6", the following scenario unfolds:

The urban beginnings at Kamid el-Loz obviously needed strong and highly visible signs of the settlements' status. The first city of Kamid el-Loz was fortified; it featured a monumental palace and an administrative area, both located at the highest elevation of the city and it possessed a monumental temple, visible as well from afar at its exposed plateau location. The city space was skillfully, and, according to our interpretation, intentionally designed in this way. The fortification was set up at the northern edge of the hill. The temple stood on a plateau facing north. Overshadowing the visibility of all other structures, the palace and the earthly administration building were located on the peak of the site. Those who approached Kamid el-Loz from the north and northeast would possibly have seen a graded order: the fortification and the temple in the foreground and the palace and administrative building on the peak. To see the city in this order would have left a lasting impression. We connect the palace and the administrative area with the earthly political and economic sphere of the community and see the temple as serving the spiritual and religious needs of the community. The fortification wall first and foremost offers protection to the settlers against a multitude of harassments, whether the intrusion of wild animals or the infiltration of aggressive enemies! In ancient Near Eastern societies, fortifications served as political signs for the urban elites as well. A massive fortification wall symbolized power, strength, and the claim and capability of the earthly elites to care for the local communities. The location of the fortification wall formed not only a widely visible landmark but also a visible boundary line between the settlement and the hinterland. According to Mesopotamian texts of the time, the hinterland of a city was considered a dangerous lawless space; the fortified city was a safe abode against that. With this image in mind, the fortification of the city could have brought Kamid el-Loz a positive reputation as a desirable settlement space. When the first MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz was established nearly 4000 years ago, the architectural inventory, the quality and size of the buildings,



► Fig. 77: A reconstruction of the skyline of the first city of Kamid el-Loz. Source: Archive Heinz.

Further Reading:

I. Administrative area
BAAL 15, 2011: 51ff.

II. Palace area
BAAL 14, 2010: 95ff.
BAAL 15, 2011: 48ff.

III. Residential area west
BAAL 14, 2010: 68ff.

IV. Residential area north
Miron 1982: 103ff.
Echt 1984: 55ff.

and the assumed size of the city must have given the impression of a prosperous urban development. When we postulate such an impression, however, we implicitly and explicitly ask, for whom was the urban life prosperous? We can state that at least two status groups were living then in Kamid el-Loz: those who represented the religious and political affairs of the community, expressed by the corresponding buildings, and those who had built these buildings. It is our historically based hypothesis that the actual builders and the actual users of the temple and the palace were probably not of the same social and status group. One of our major current research subjects and the topic of another publication is the question: Whose history we are reconstructing when we are talking about the prosperous urban beginnings of and the urban life in Kamid el-Loz?

Hachmann 1989: 62ff.

V. Fortification
Echt 1984: 56ff.

VI. Temple area
BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 101ff.
BAAL 14, 2010: 73ff.
Metzger 2012

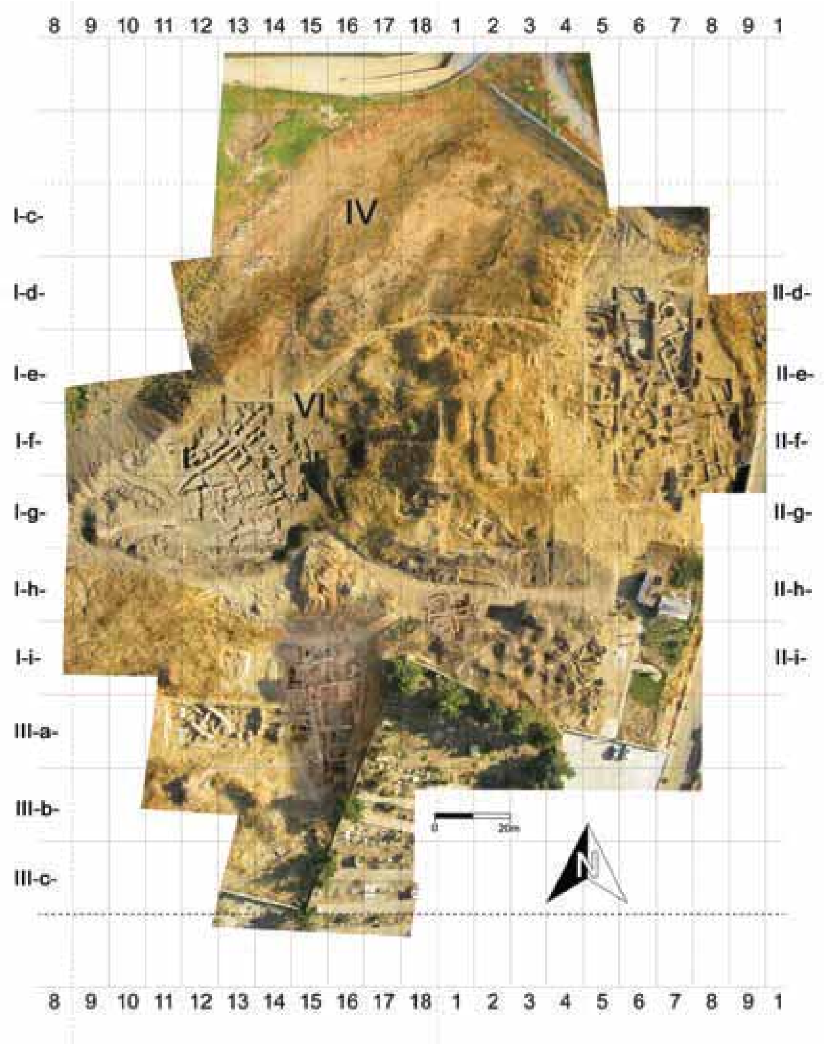
Urban beginnings (Early MBA II c. 1750 B.C., city 1): A short summary in table form

Period	Evidence					
Early MBA II	pottery **trench 1 west of the temple area**	pottery **trench 2 west of the temple area**	architecture and pottery **palace MBP 3**	burnt bricks and pottery **administrative area, phase 2**	burnt bricks and pottery **temple area "temple T 6"**	rooms and fortification, pottery, two burials (nos 96 and 113) **residential area north, building period 7, building levels 20-17**
MBA I	pottery **trench 1**	pottery **trench 2**	trodden floor **trench 5 III-a-16** pottery **trench 3**	pottery **trench 4**	-	courtyard house **residential area north, building period 8, building level 21**
EBA IV / MBA I	walls, oven, pottery **trench 1 I-f-12**	pottery **trench 2 III-a-12-14**	pottery **trench 3 III-a-16**	stone setting, pottery **trench 4 II-h-1**	-	-

5. The first anomie

The urban function of the early MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz (city 1) was interrupted, but the place as such was not forgotten

Middle Bronze Age II		Middle Bronze Age II	Late Bronze Age I/II
1750 B.C. – city I	End of city I / beginning of the first anomie	End of first anomie, beginnning and end of city II; beginning of anomie 2; end of this second anomie c. 1550/1500 B.C.	1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.
City 1 - emerged c. 1750 B.C., ended with the beginning of the first anomie; the absolute dating of the end of city 1, the beginning and the end of the first anomie is yet unclear			



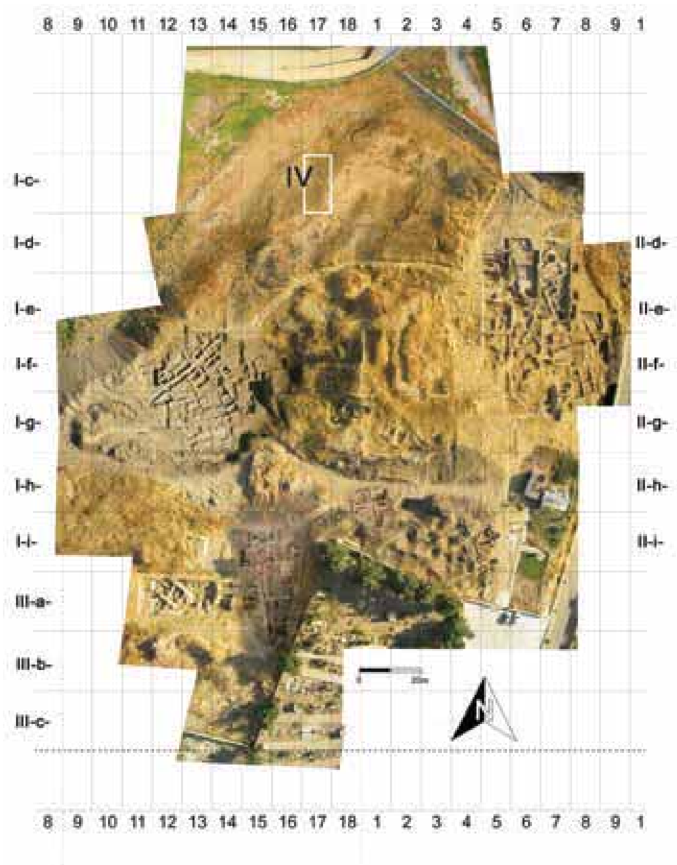
◀ Fig. 78: The distribution of evidence for the first anomie. Source: Archive Heinz.

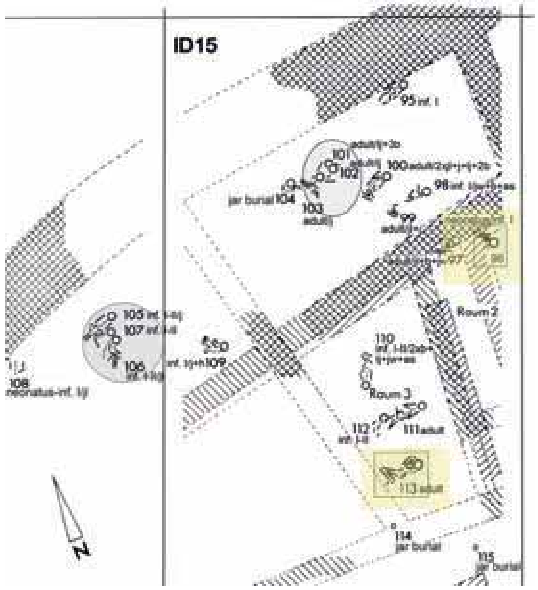
To commemorate: After the blaze hit Kamid el-Loz, its urban function – and thus its function as political, economic, religious, and social center was interrupted. The site, however, was not entirely abandoned. Either some people stayed in Kamid el-Loz, trying to survive in the devastated surroundings or people came from outside to use the remaining structures for their own purposes. We uncovered signs of post-disaster use in the northern residential area as well as in the temple area.

▼ Figs 79, 80: The location of the northern residential area and the architectural evidence, where the burials were laid down into the decayed house remains of building period 7, building levels 20-17; see fig. 75. Sources: Archive Heinz; Wagner-Durand 2014: 54.

5.1 The former residential area in the north: When the settlers left their houses, did they also abandon their ancestors?

People left the settlement at Kamid el-Loz, according to our interpretation, as a result of the blaze that destroyed the relevant communal institutions of the city. With this abandonment, our first impression was that they had left behind their ancestors as well: the child buried underneath room 2 (grave no. 96) and the adult underneath the floor of courtyard 3 (grave no. 113) (see fig. 75, building period 7, building level 20-17) in the northern residential area. But was this really the case? The final results of the excavations in the northern residential area brought to light some evidence that made us question our preliminary interpretation.





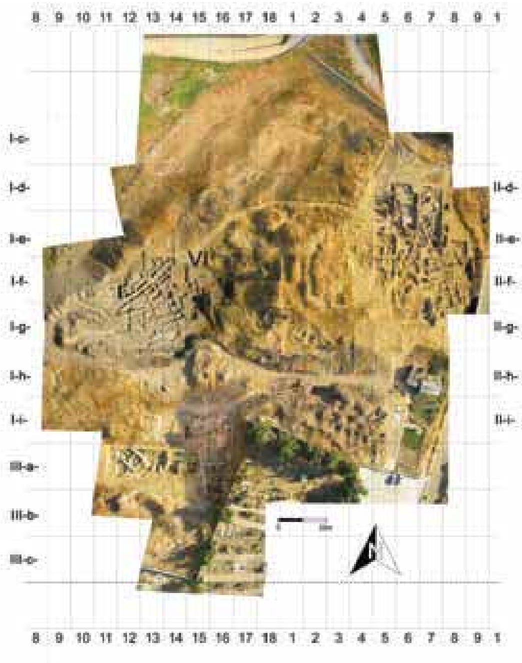
The settlement had been abandoned as living area, but it was not forgotten. After leaving the district, people still placed burials into the decaying remains of the deserted houses. So far, we know of the interments of 7 adults, buried in simple earth pits, and 18 children, entombed in clay vessels and then buried as well in simple earth pits.

Who the people were who buried the dead into the decayed house remains is difficult to say. What we can say right now is that the utilization of the

area as a place where the dead could find their final resting place was potentially still known even after the city had been abandoned. It is thus not to be excluded that those residents who had once abandoned their houses came back to bury their dead "at home" and thus with this memorial overcame the social devastations that the disastrous destruction of city 1 had inflicted on them. It is also conceivable that people with no connections to the former settlement simply recognized this spot as appropriate for a burial place. We are currently exploring the topic "The life of the living and the life of the dead" where we reflect on how burial traditions develop and how archaeology might possibly be able to identify the group of people who used this decaying area. We consider as well research from the field of disaster studies that traces the questions of how people react to disasters and what measures survivors take to reestablish a regular day-to-day routine.

5.2 Squatters in the temple area? Or the continuation of cultic activities in devastated surroundings?

In the temple area, we excavated several structures that document its post-disaster utilization. The temple of a city is located in, resp. creates an area with a specific aura and meaning for those living in that city, belonging to its community, and sharing its habits, and culture.

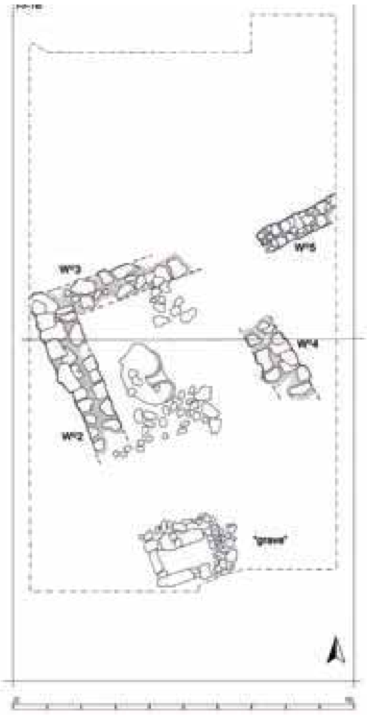




◄▲ Figs 81, 82: The location of the temple site and an aerial view of the area. Source: Archive Heinz.

To use a temple in its cultic functions after a disaster had hit the community would thus be understandable in terms of preserving the tradition and respecting the aura of the building and area, even or especially in the midst of devastation. In case of Kamid el-Loz, we do not (yet) know who the people were who continued to use the area after the disaster. However, those using the burnt ruins of what we call tentatively the remains of temple T6 had placed a stone built structure directly on top of the burnt bricks (934.44m); the remains are fragmentary but recognizable as the remains of a room or courtyard and two fireplaces.

► Figs 83, 84: Interim utilization of the temple site at 934.44m. Source: Archive Heinz.

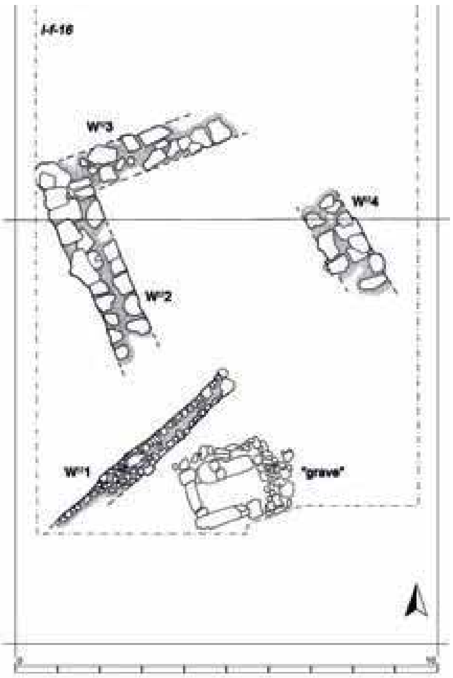




The installations – the fireplaces – indicate household activities. To conclude that the structure was part of a simple residential house, however, is debatable. As we will see, equivalent installations also are found in the temple buildings at Kamid el-Loz. These structures (see figs 83 – 84) had been given up (after a period of yet unknown duration) and had decayed.

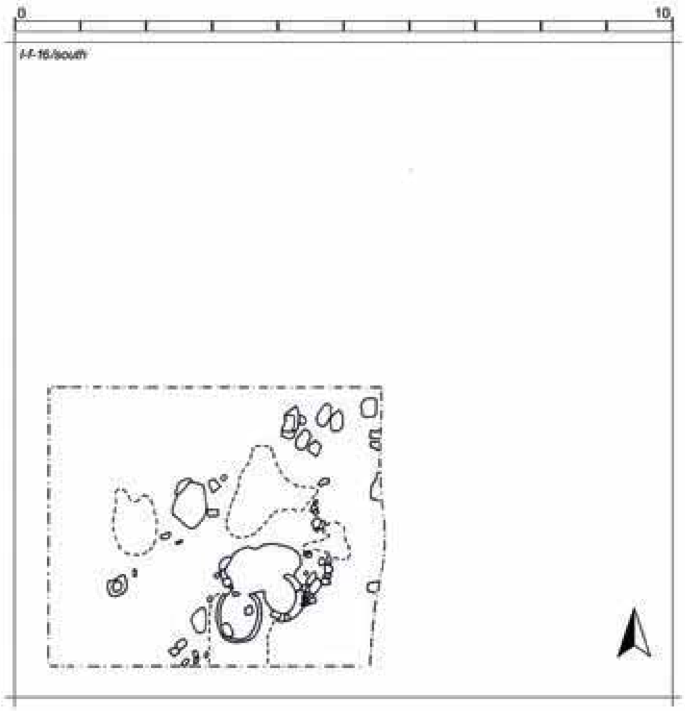
This deserted and decaying area was subsequently used to set up a small wall, w^{t2} 1 (934.85m) built of tiny stones, which run northwest of a stone built grave. This grave was constructed of very carefully hewn stone blocks, which lined three sides of the grave pit, while the eastern (fourth) side was built up with small stones (934.62m). The grave was plundered – whether in antiquity or in more recent times remains unclear. It constitutes, however,

► Figs 85, 86: Interim utilization of the temple site at 934.62m (grave) and at 934.85m level (wall w^{t2} 1). Source: Archive Heinz.





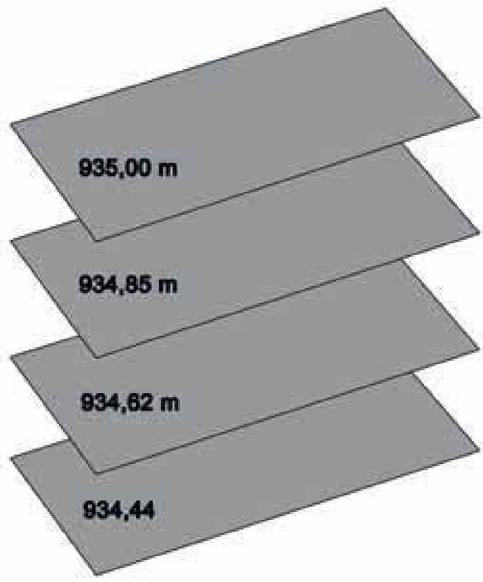
another structure without any further architectural connections and represents thus yet another isolated phenomenon of peoples' activities here. As in the northern residential area, according to our current interpretation, the people in this context used the abandoned habitat for the interment of their deceased.
Later this utilization of the area changed once again, and some fireplaces were installed on a floor of trodden clay (935m), again without any identifiable architectural remains close by.





These household facilities were then the last evidence for what we call the interim use of this area. The structures had been abandoned and the spot was built over with the so-called temple T 5 (see chapter 6.1.2.1), belonging to city 2, the second MBA II urban development of Kamid el-Loz.

▲ Figs 87, 88: Interim utilization of the temple site at 935.00m level. Source: Archive Heinz.



◄Fig. 89: The succession of interim uses: a sketch. Source: Archive Heinz.

We can thus discern isolated activities that took place in the temple area after the first blaze had hit the city and had destroyed the monumental building here. We wonder, however, how this sequence of different functional utilizations correlates with what happened elsewhere in the abandoned city. Our current interpretation is as follows: While Kamid el-Loz was abandoned, people used some of the open spaces (the temple

area described above as well as the former residential area in the north) for household activities (which could also have been connected to cultic activities in that habitat!) as well as for burials. These interim functions ended when the second urbanization process began. The reurbanization process was initiated and became visible when people began to again set up monumental buildings with communal functions in Kamid el-Loz. It was at this time that the first anomie in Kamid el-Loz ended and people were able to resume a regular daily life in Kamid el-Loz. That is, either the former inhabitants seized the opportunity to leave behind the impacts of the disaster that had once destroyed their social life and their cultural and political order, or a group of newcomers recognized the suitability of the site and took the opportunity to initiate its resettlement.

The challenges archaeologists face in order to explain, date, and correlate the events that occurred in the past become apparent with every context that we excavate. Again, we are working to compile proof for both the absolute dating and for the correlation of the activities carried out by those who stayed in or who came to Kamid el-Loz after the conflagration had hit the community and destroyed the first city on the spot.

Further Reading:
IV. Residential area north
Miron 1982: 103ff.
Echt 1984: 57
Hachmann 1989: 66

VI. Temple area
BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 101ff.

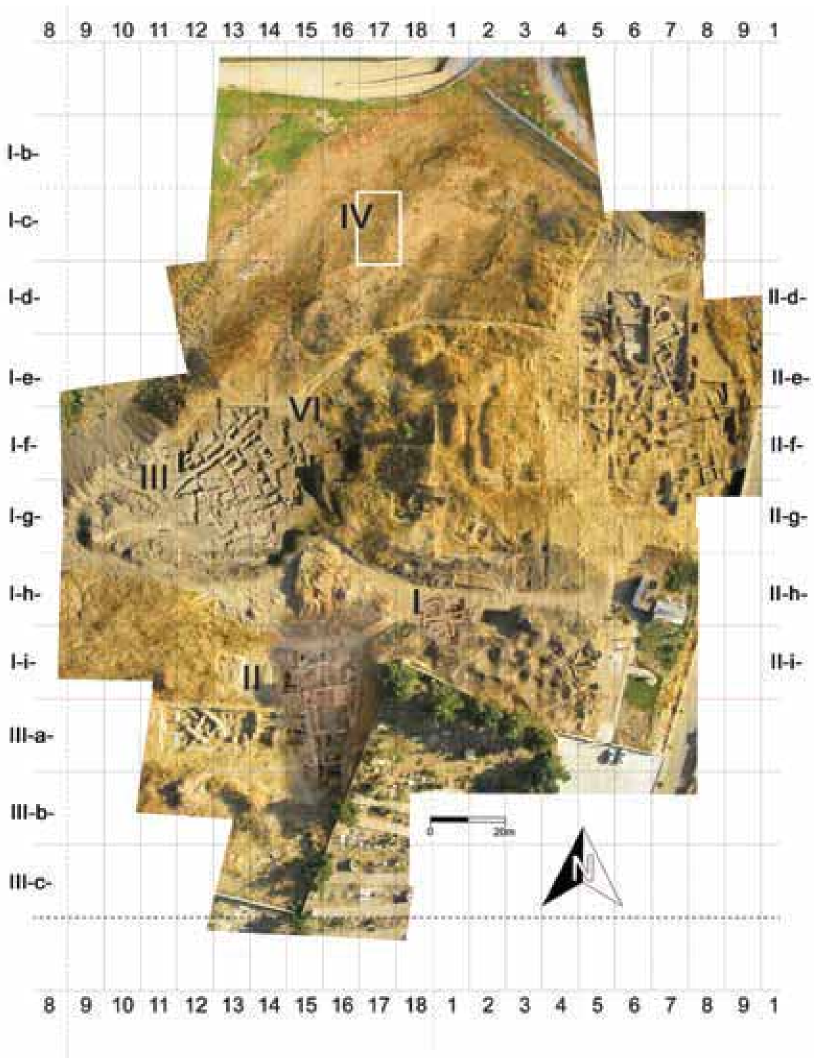
The first anomie (Early MBA II): A short summary in table form

Period	Evidence					
1st anomie	- **trench 1 west of the temple area**	- **trench 2 west of the palace area**	- **palace area**	- **administrative area**	wall structures, fireplaces, a stone built cist grave **temple area**	graves dug into the abandoned houses of building period 7, building level 17; 7 adults, 18 children **residential area north**
Early MBA II	pottery **trench 1 west of the temple area**	pottery **trench 2 west of the palace area**	architecture and pottery **palace MBP 3**	burnt bricks and pottery **administrative area, phase 2**	burnt bricks and pottery **temple area "temple T 6"**	rooms and fortification, pottery, two burials (nos 96 and 113) **residential area north, building period 7, building levels 20-17**
MBA I	pottery **trench 1**	pottery **trench 2**	trodden floor **trench 5 III-a-16** pottery **trench 3**	pottery **trench 4**	-	courtyard house **residential area north, building period 8, building level 21**
EBA IV / MBA I	walls, oven, pottery **trench 1 I-f-12**	pottery **trench 2 III-a-12-14**	pottery **trench 3 III-a-16**	stone setting, pottery **trench 4 II-h-1**	-	-

6. City 2

The first anomie ended, resettlement began and the second Middle Bronze Age city of Kamid el-Loz developed

Early phase of Middle Bronze Age II	Advanced phase of Middle Bronze Age II	Late Bronze Age I/II
1750 – ? B.C. City 1, followed by the first phase of anomie	City 2 Date of beginning and ending? Followed by the second phase of anomie which ends c. 1550/1500 B.C.	1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.



◄ Fig. 90: An overview of the site and location of excavation areas. Source: Archive Heinz.

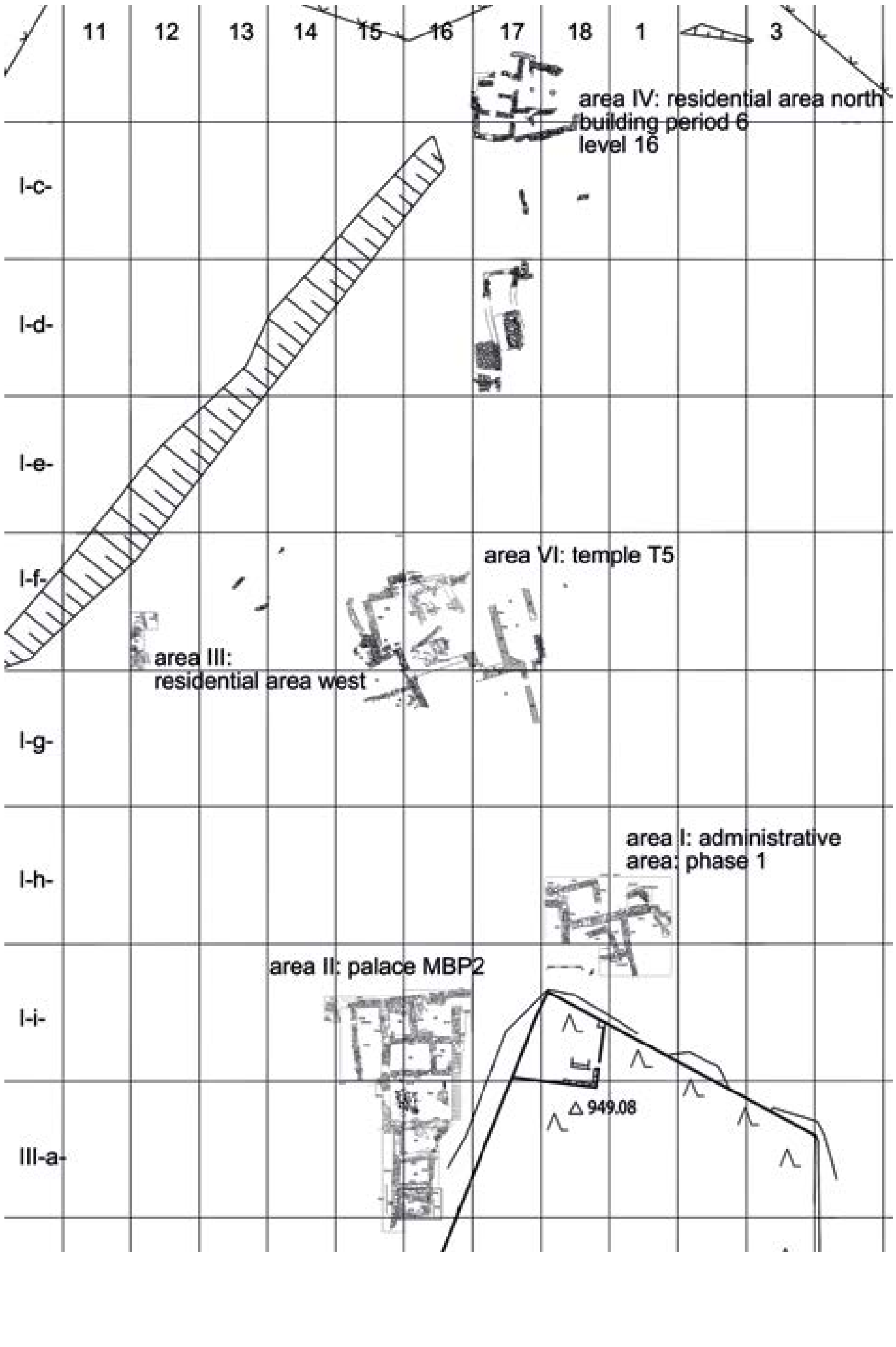
The disaster that hit Kamid el-Loz in the early MBA II period resulted in the dissolution of the local urban mode of life and social order. Anomie was the consequence. According to our archaeological findings, this anomie came to an end during the advanced phase of the MBA II. The devastated city was rebuilt, either by returning members of the former population or

newcomers to the site. A second urbanization process began and the second MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz was set up. We wonder how the location looked when the people began to resettle the habitat. Which of the burnt and decayed structures was visibly maintained? It is striking that those who initiated and took part in the resettlement rebuilt and reestablished the formal order, that is, the distribution of functions over the habitat, very much in the same manner as the first urban settlers had done.

The evidence we excavated for city 2 initially encompassed the palace MBP 2 and the temples T 5 and T 4. In the palace as well as in the administrative precinct (phase 1) and temple area the settlers leveled out the rubble and used the debris as the foundation layer for the formally new, but functionally probably identical buildings.

As our soundings reveal, the settlers repopulated the residential area west of the temple (area III) where they reestablished a living area. A further residential area emerged in the north (area IV, building period 6, building levels

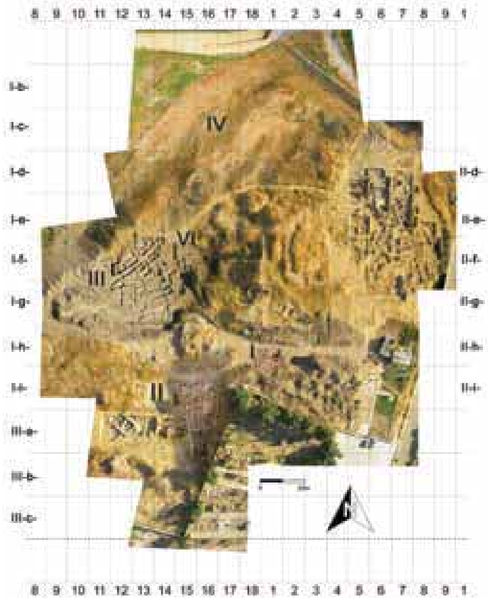
► Fig. 91: The building inventory of city 2. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: 55 and 130, Abb. 17; Metzger 2012: Tafel 46.



16, 15, and 14). The new inhabitants built over the abandoned houses of city 1 (building period 7, building levels 20-17). They built over the graves as well, which had been set up during the first phase of anomie into the decaying houses of city 1 (building level 17; see figs 79 – 80).
This first building phase of this newly set up habitat (building period 6, building level 16) ended in a blaze during the period of city 2: it burned down. What followed, as well during the period of city 2, was the rebuilding and formal modification – that is, the functional transformation – of the area into a fortified district in building period 6, building level 14.

6.1 The re-colonization of the palace area and the building of palace MBP 2





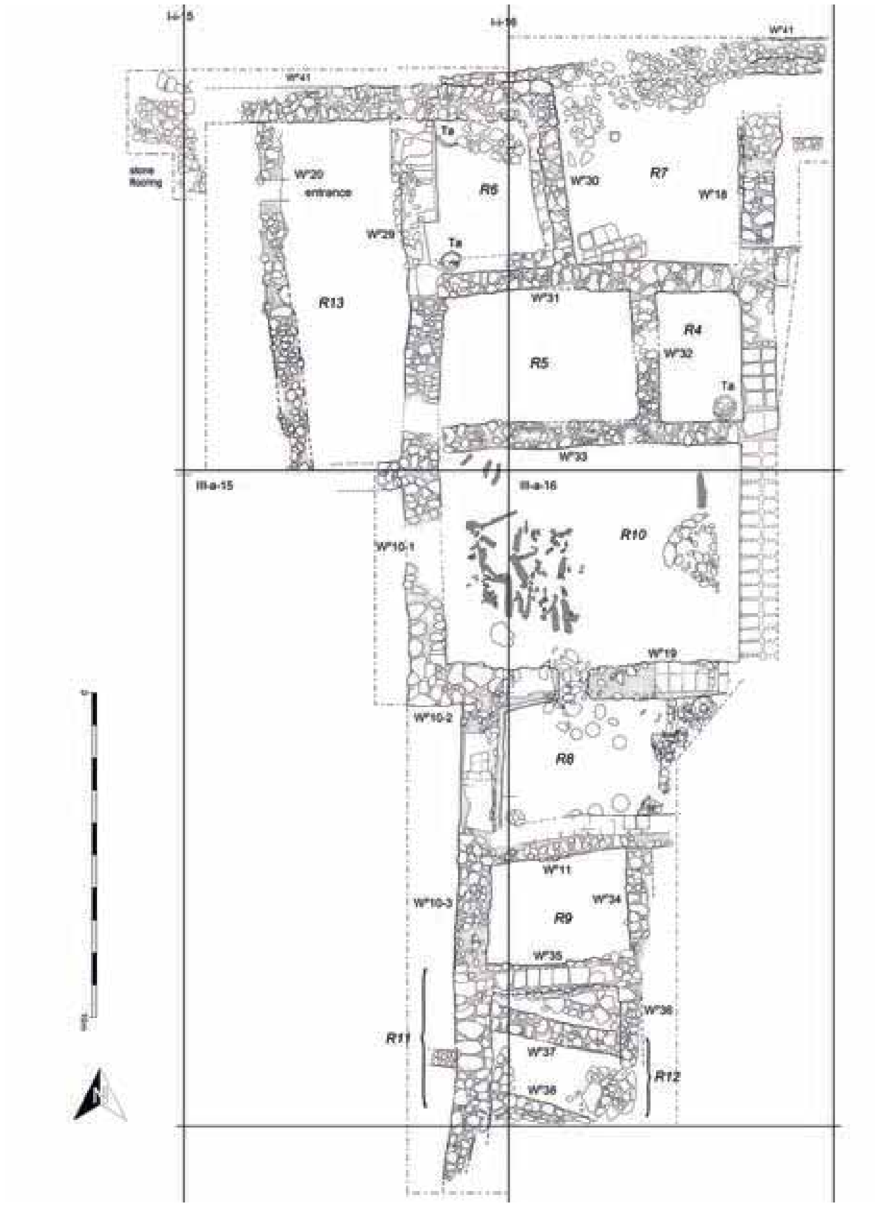
◄▲ Figs 92, 93: Aerial view of palace MBP 2 and its location on the mound. Source: Archive Heinz.

The new palace, MBP 2, was set up on the site of the old one. The builders had removed the burnt rubble of the building's predecessor (MBP 3), cleared away the burnt bricks from the stone foundations, and leveled out all remaining and still useful walls to the same height. On top of this new foundation the new monumental palace building was erected. What we see so far (2016) is only a small part of the total palace structure. Due to building activities in today's Kamid el-Loz, the major part of this palace is built over by the modern cemetery and the mosque. These today's building activities prevent us from excavating the ancient palace in toto. Nevertheless,

our excavations provide us with a variety of insights into what an ancient palace looked like, what its functions were, and what knowledge and needs the people had who built the palace, who used it, and who lived in it.

So far, we have excavated at least 6 rooms of palace MBP 2 (rooms no. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 13) flanking a central courtyard called "room" 10. Currently, it looks as if this courtyard had only one entrance, located in the south. This impression may, however, be misleading. The northern part of the courtyard is still filled with burnt brick rubble (see fig. 95), stemming from the vast burning that hit and destroyed palace MBP 2 (see below for details). These remains, not yet fully excavated by us, may thus possibly overlay the thoroughfare from the courtyard to the northern part of the palace. South of the courtyard are three rooms, room 8, room 9, and room 11. Two additional rooms, 6 and 7, adjoin the courtyard to the north, and room 13 borders the courtyard to the west. Room 8 shows the above-mentioned passage leading into the courtyard. The access points into rooms 9 and 11, rooms 6 and 7, and the western room 13 are still unclear. From room 13, however, a gateway to the west leads to either another courtyard, to another room, or

► Fig. 94: Palace MBP 2. Source: Archive Heinz.



to an open space, whose floor had been carefully laid with smoothed stone slabs.
Room 7, the courtyard, “room” 10 and room 8 were filled with the burnt rubble of roofs and walls destroyed by the burning of palace MBP 2. What constituted a major calamity for the users of the building, sad as it is, was fortunate for archaeological research. The composition and distribution of the burnt rubble informs us about constructional details of the palace as well as the utilization of the rooms, that is, the distribution of functions within the palace. The burnt fill of room 7 and the courtyard, “room” 10, included wood, broken bricks, and broken pottery. The composition of the burnt rubble, its arrangement, and its location in each context show how the whole building collapsed. An upper floor had tumbled down onto the ground floor of room 7 and the courtyard, “room” 10.



◄ Fig. 95: Courtyard “room” 10 with burnt logs. Source: Archive Heinz.

Huge burnt oak logs lay on the floor of the courtyard, “room 10”. These logs stem from either a roof construction that had once covered the northern part of the courtyard or the western and northern upper floor ceilings. To which structure the logs actually belong is a question currently under discussion. The large quantities of rubble not only covered the beams and the floor but also concealed the walls of the courtyard. When we removed the rubble, we discovered that these walls of the palace, and only these, had once been painted with a whitish gypsum-like coating.
The rubble of room 7 consisted of bricks, fragments of burnt wood, and a large number of pottery fragments. The position and distribution of the rubble inside room 7 as well as the composition of the remains show that a chamber of an upper floor had collapsed into the room with its entire inventory. This upper chamber must have been used, among other things, as a storehouse for vessels used for storing, preparing, and consuming food of all kinds. The careful analysis of the pottery fragments revealed this and led to the reconstruction of a wide variety of vessels: small pots, plates, and bowls as well as supply vessels.

► Fig. 96: Room 7 and burnt fragments of the pottery inventory. Source: Archive Heinz.



The vast conflagration that hit the palace MBP 2 led to the conservation of the inventory of yet another room, room 8, located south of the courtyard, which also served as a storage room. Unlike in room 7, the users kept exclusively storage jars in room 8.

The violent destruction of palace MBP 2 thus allows us to gain initial insights into the activities once carried out in this building – the storage, preparation, and consumption of food. When we discuss the palace building among colleagues, with visitors, and with our neighbors at the site, however, the debates center around a whole bunch of additional aspects. We are interested in how large the palace was overall and how many floors it had. We are interested in what additional functions the palace served, where these functions took place in the huge structure, and how people moved through this once monumental building. Did spaces overlap, could one circulate, or did the people have to enter and leave the rooms through only one door? The accessibility of a room and its location influences how it is

► Fig. 97: Room 8, storage room. Source: Archive Heinz.



utilized, as well the distribution of functions throughout the house, and finally, yet importantly, how one orients oneself in the house. Where was the central entrance? What did people see when they entered the palace? How did acoustics, the circulation of fresh air, and the incidence of light and shadow influence and condition movements through and life in the palace? We will probably never be able to determine the full dimensions of the palace due to the recent utilization of the site. With further excavations, however, it will potentially be possible to excavate the main entrance, to expose more rooms and courtyards, to study the design of the direct environment of the palace, and thus to learn how people used and perceived this major building of the second MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz. The existence of a monumental building such as the palace, though, raises many more questions than just those regarding its constructional details, size, and functions. Who were the people who had access to the palace? Who used it, who lived in it, and who built it? We mentioned already that those who lived in the palace and those who built it are generally not the same group of people. We thus reiterate our thesis that at least two social groups were living in Kamid el-Loz, two groups that were mutual interdependent on each other: the residents, living in the palace and representing the local power, and the builders of the palace, those who were ruled by this power. The assumed social order that we present leads to further questions that will be dealt with in detail later: When the resettlement started and the reurbanization began, how and why did this social and political order of Kamid el-Loz develop, an order that seems to have corresponded to the social order of the first city of Kamid el-Loz! Moreover, how does a social order develop after a settlement burned down, was abandoned for a while, and was then resettled? We are currently working on these questions and it will keep us busy for a while to find convincing answers. What we can state for the moment, however, is that those responsible for the construction of the second city of MBA II Kamid el-Loz again had sufficient means at hand to equip the city with a well-built representative architecture.

6.1.1 The administrative area, phase 1: Resettlement began with repairing the burnt and damaged remains of the first MBA II city

When the first blaze hit Kamid el-Loz and destroyed, among other things, the administrative building of the first MBA II city, the entire foundation of the area was destabilized as well. The accumulated burnt debris caused by this blaze accumulated at the edge of the slope and threatened to slide downhill. The first measure the settlers took when they began to resettle the habitat and to create the second



◄ Fig. 98: The administrative area and the slope created by the destabilization of the foundation. Source: Archive Heinz.



► Fig. 99: Wall W^S 14 of the administrative area. Source: Archive Heinz.

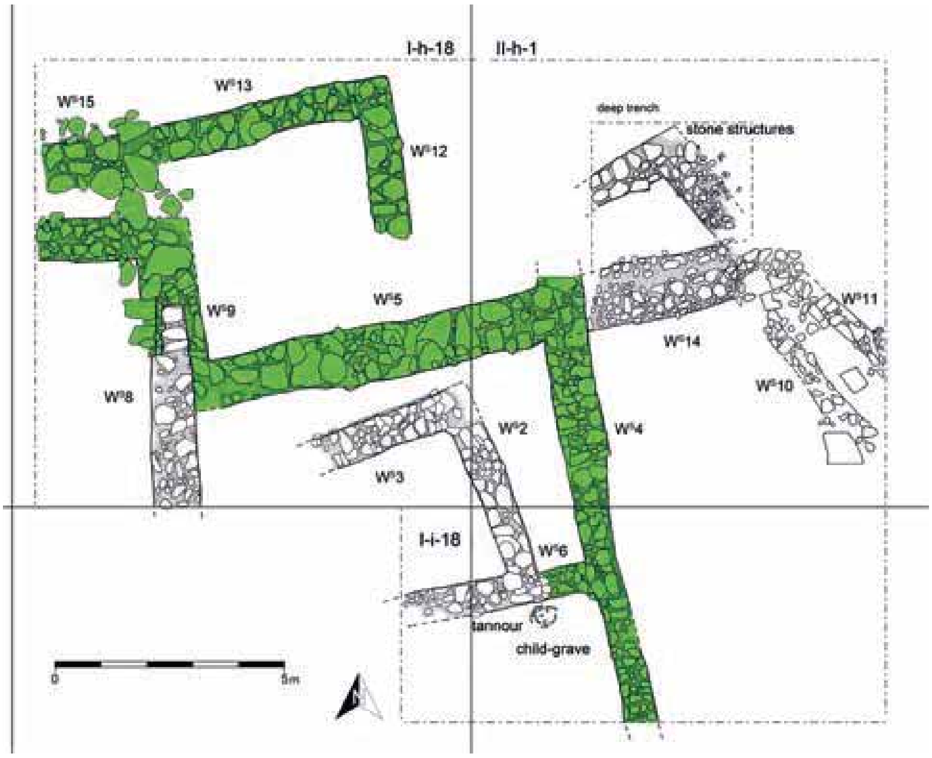
MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz was to stabilize the substratum. They leveled the burnt rubble and fixed it by building a massive retaining stone wall (wall W^S 14, up to 1.50m wide and 2.50m high) which was placed immediately in front of the burnt rubble at the edge of the slope.

6.1.1.1 The new administrative building of the second MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz

When the building site was thus prepared, the settlers used the fixed rubble and the retaining stone wall (W^S 14) as the foundation and base on which the new administrative building was erected. So far, we know of two, or perhaps three rooms of this new monumental structure.

The total size of the building, its type, and the specific utilization of each single room we do not yet know. The size of its walls, the building technique, and the building materials, however, are the same as the neighbored palace building, and it is these parameters that caused us to add this structure (although so far only partially excavated) to the group of monumental buildings of the city.

Not only the building technique and the utilized building materials are the same as those invested into the palace building but also the continuous use of the same habitat. The perpetuation of traditions confirms afresh that the interruption of settlement activities did not lead to a loss of knowledge concerning the former space design and the spread of monumental structures over the urban area. As mentioned above, are we currently discussing what the site looked like when the resettlement started. Associated with this line of thinking is the general question of how the conservation of knowledge and skills works. Who knew the former space design of Kamid el-Loz, who remembered, and who was thus able to organize the reconstruction of this second urban settlement? We see the enormous effort taken by the new settlers to rebuild that area and to set up anew a solid monumental building on the spot. All the effort invested, the solid reconstruction and



◀ Fig. 100: Drawing of the administrative area, city 2. Source: Archive Heinz.



◀ Fig. 101: Aerial view of administrative area, city 2. Source: Archive Heinz.

development of this habitat as well as taking care of the building could not, however, prevent the administrative area, like the adjacent palace MBP 2, from falling victim to a massive and, once again ruinous fire at the end of the MBA II period.



▲ Fig. 102: Aerial overview of the palace and administrative area. Source: Archive Heinz.

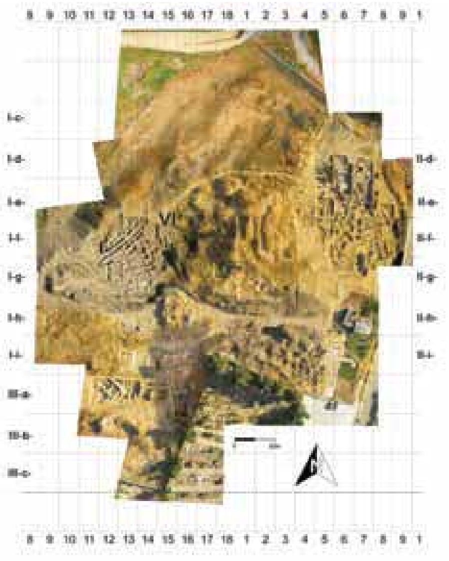
6.1.2 A new domicile for cultic concerns?

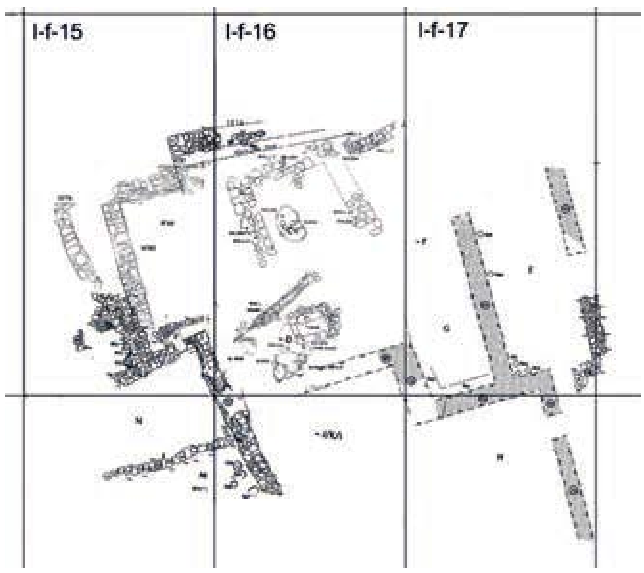
When the urban rebuilding of Kamid el-Loz took place, did the inhabitants of the second MBA II city, in accordance with tradition, need a place for the worship of the gods, that is, a residence for the local religious authorities?

6.1.2.1 Is Building T 5, indeed a temple?

The settlers redeveloped the habitat that we call the "temple" area. We are not able to verify if there had ever been any connections between the new buildings of the second city and the older structures set up here during the phase of anomie. The area was looted in a most dramatic way during the Lebanese Civil War (1970s to 1990s). All building remains of temples T 5 and T 4, excavated by the team of archaeologists from the University of Saarbrücken, were demolished, and afterwards the entire habitat was devastated.

The structure T 5, one of the structures excavated before the civil war, was a classical courtyard-house, a building type used throughout the entire history of Kamid el-Loz It was built using traditional craftsmanship as well as traditional building materials – stone and brick – and it fit very well into the local building history. The house, only partially excavated, covered an area of about 600 square meters (30m x 20m), ten rooms, two courtyards, and some fairly well-preserved installations were uncovered.





▲ Figs 103, 104: The location, and the remains excavated of temple T 5 (over-building the older structures). Sources: Archive Heinz; Metzger 2012: Tafel 46.

Rooms M and Q were equipped with ovens. In courtyard A/E, several storage jars had been recessed into the floor. A brick built bench was incorporated in the southern and eastern part of room G. Cooking, baking, stockpiling, and "getting together" are some of the activities that could have taken place in this building – an idea that gives the impression that this building fulfilled functions comparable to a living house. This impression is not deceptive. A temple served at that time as the residence of the local gods. The gods, as well as the temple staff, had to be provided for – together they formed a household not unlike the secular households of the city. Formal as well as functional aspects of the temple thus corresponded to those of private households. The present building is a courtyard building, built with the same materials and techniques, and equipped with the same installations, as the local residential buildings. The domicile of the gods thus belonged to the very same category as the houses of the local population. The many formal and functional parallels lead to the question of why the excavators called this house a temple? The main argument for its designation (temple T 5) is again based on the utilization history of the spot. Its functional categorization as a temple is comprehensible for the Late Bronze Age; this categorization is then transferred to the earlier period (see our earlier critical reflections on and discussions of this method, chapters 3.2 and 3.4.5).

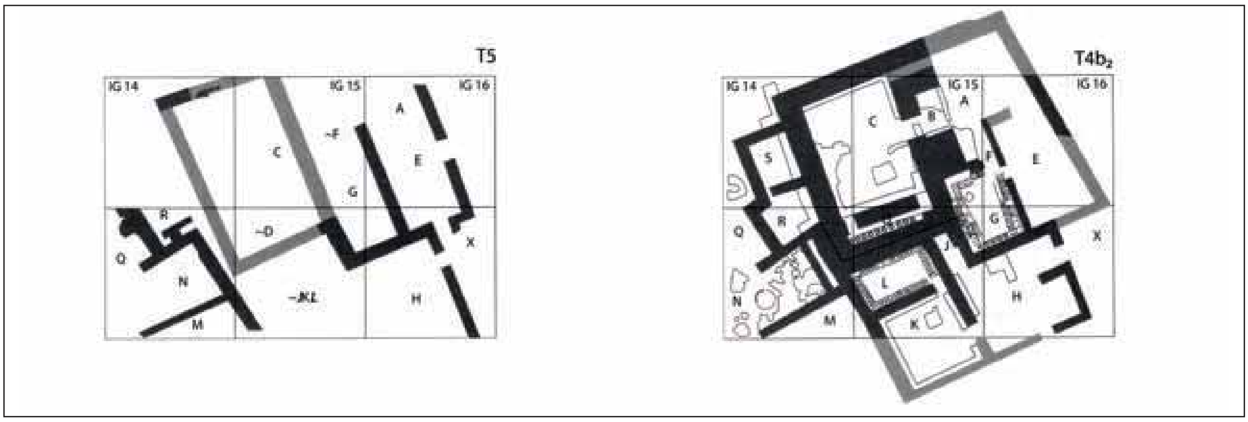


◄ Fig. 105: Ovens set up in room Q, temple T 5. Source: Metzger 2012: 119, Abb. 73.

6.1.2.2 Is Building T 4 a temple? It's quite possible!

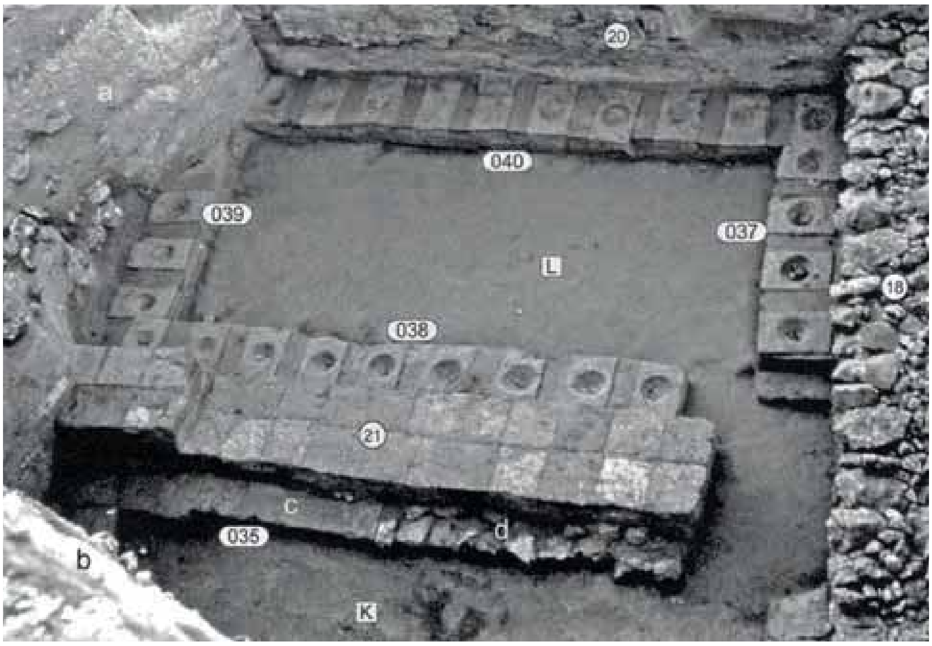
The so-called "temple T 5" fell victim to a severe burning. This, however, did not lead to the abandonment of the district. On the contrary, the builders removed the rubble, accessed the burnt remains of the old structure, in-

tegrated still serviceable walls into the new construction, and set up the new building. We lack the data to reconstruct how much time elapsed between the burning and the rebuilding of the site.
But we can say that those responsible for the reconstruction knew that they were using a burnt area and that the history of this area was neither an obstacle for using the site as such nor for utilizing the burnt structures. Continuing to use the site and continuing to use the older structural remains went hand in hand.



▲ Fig. 106: Temple T 5 and temple T 4 – the overlapping remains. Source: Metzger 2012: 374, Abb. 173.

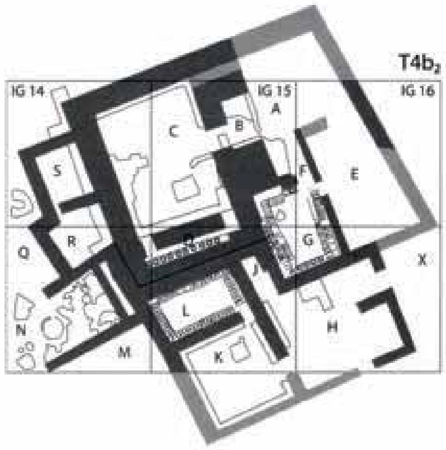
The building erected on that site was, however, genuinely new – not only chronologically but also, notably, as a building type. It was without precedent at Kamid el-Loz, and it remained unique, without any comparable successor. Based on our parameters of what makes a building "extraordinary" (noticeable or even unique in type, larger than the average building, protruding from its surrounding), this new structure would be one of these buildings. The excavators, taking into account the more recent utilization history of the habitat, designated the building as temple T 4.
What caught the eye both of the excavators and the then users and inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz is first of all the monumentality of the entrance with its prominent posts, and secondly the broadness of the walls of room C. The users of the building must have been impressed by the design of the entry and would have become aware of the broadness of the walls the moment she or he entered the building and had to stride along the deep passageway. This led straight into the main room of the building, room C. When the user entered room C and turned to the left, she or he saw a nearly square podium and an oblong bench, and behind this and in front of the southern small wall a row of blocks, made of clay, each with a depression in the middle that made it suitable to serve as a holder for a large vessel. Our functional interpretation is backed up by corresponding installations set up in room 8 of palace MBP 2, where we found the storage jars still in situ. Based on the construction, according to our interpretation, room C constituted the center of this building. This center was surrounded by additional rooms or courtyards, of which two in particular attracted our intention: room G, added to the outside of room C, immediately south of the entrance, and room L, attached to the exterior of the southern, narrow side of room C. Along all four inside walls of both rooms the builders set up the same installations as in room C, thus providing again extensive opportunities to store stocks on hand.



◀ Fig. 107: Room L, temple T 4. Source: Metzger 2012: 96, Abb. 50.

Additional rooms or small courtyards surrounded the center: to the south room K and courtyard H; to the east, room/courtyard F/E and courtyard A; and to the west, several only partially excavated rooms / courtyards where other installations such as fireplaces and ovens had been placed.

Such installations, fireplaces, ovens as well as storage facilities, which were also set up in building T5 and palace MBP 2 were as well present in the private households of Kamid el-Loz. They indicate that the temple and the palace, like private households, accumulated stocks of food and were able to prepare cooked and baked food. The question is, for whom did the public institutions accumulate stocks and provide food – for their staff, living in the palace and the temple, or for a wider circle of people, e.g. the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz? We know from contemporaneous texts that palaces and temples were large economic enterprises. They employed people from the area and paid them in kind. The facilities in both institutions may have had certain obligations. In our ongoing research, we are reflecting on questions regarding the extent and the modalities of the temple's services as well as the circle of people who had access to these services and admission to the temple itself.



◀ Fig. 108: Temple T4. Source: Metzger 2012, Abb. 173.

The uniqueness of the building's type, neither constituting part of the established architectural repertoire of Kamid el-Loz nor belonging to or developing the local architectural traditions makes us wonder where the idea for this building type came from, that is, where the ones who designed it came from and whose needs this building manifested.

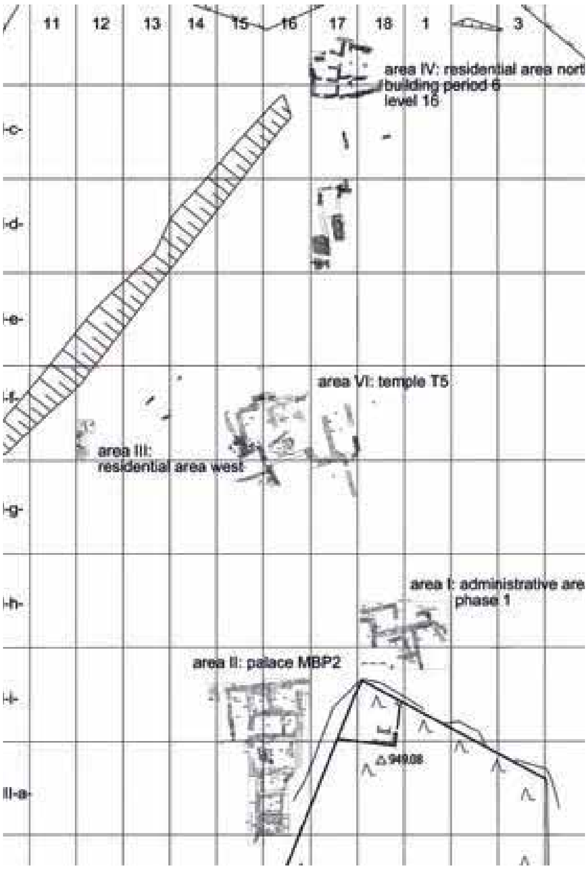
The spatial design of the entire temple complex and especially the entrance to room C and the surrounding areas leave the impression that the then settlers obviously needed a cultic realm that was secluded rather than open and freely accessible. The temple's massive walls and its solid entrance made the building almost resemble a fortress. Moreover, the users of the complex could not move directly between the main tract (C – A – F – G – E) and the added rooms and courtyards in the south and west. Obviously was it neither desirable nor necessary for users to walk about freely from the center to the outside and vice versa. Our impression is that access to the building was controlled rather than open. The barrier between the inside and outside use of the temple and its exterior rooms precluded people from using the southern and western rooms to come close to the interior of the temple – did this mean that they did not come close to the interior affairs of the cultic precinct as well?

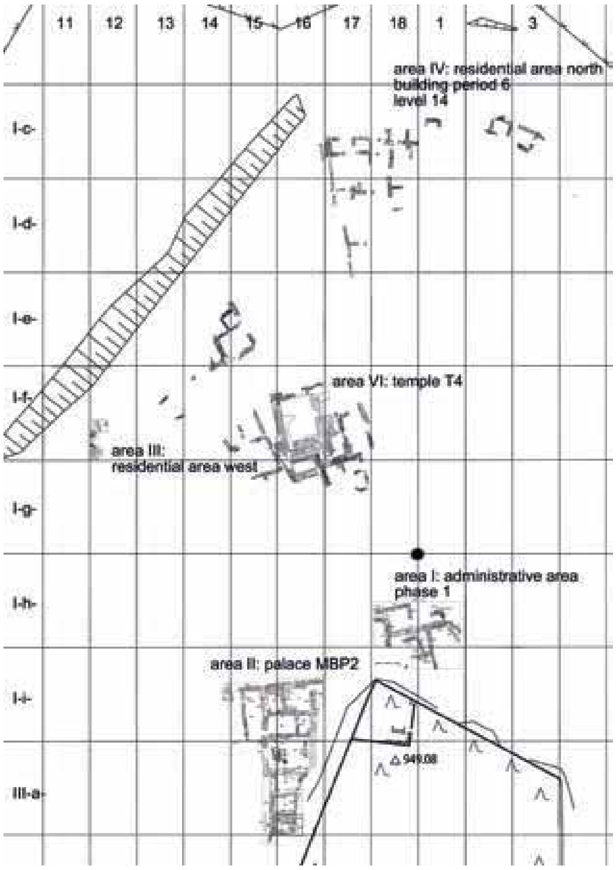
Due to the incomplete state of preservation of the entire complex, it was not possible for us to ascertain how people coming from outside entered the main tract and whether the access control had been initiated at the courtyard's entrance already. According to the excavators' reconstruction, the main tract of the complex was surround by a wall and thus the main entrance would have opened not to the outside but into courtyard A. This design raises the question about the purpose of the appearance of the temple's entrance. Was the impressive and daunting design visible from afar or only to those who had gained access to the courtyard, thus for those who either were allowed to stay in the center of the precinct or had managed to enter this area? What and who should therefore be regulated? Who should be monitored when entering the area? Or did the fortified entrance perhaps not at all serve as a means of control but instead primarily had representational functions?

The temple's location makes it a central building, presumably correlated with its central function as the city temple of Kamid el-Loz. The resultant closeness of its location to the everyday life, however, is in stark contrast to the demarcation of the building from the surrounding residential area as well as to the fortress-like design of the entire complex. The design and location of the city's main temple leave an ambivalent impression behind. The location of temple T 4 evokes the need for closeness to the people; the building's structure seems to speak a different language. On the one hand, the planners and builders integrated the temple into the area of daily affairs; on the other hand, they took strict measures to encapsulate especially the center of the cultic area, room C, from its surroundings. Controlled and privileged entry, not open access for all was the message, according to our interpretation of the evidence of the architecture and spatial design. It is thus an apparently conflicting message, which raises the question of who were the privileged who used this temple? In other words, why, if our interpretation is correct, was the access to the religious center of Kamid el-Loz exclusive at all? We are discussing these questions and hope to gain insights into the religious habits and traditions of the past communities of Kamid el-Loz.

The temple, located in the residential area, did not fall victim to a blaze in the way that its forerunner, T 5, had suffered. Burning, however, did damage the building, and it is worth mentioning that out of all the areas in the

temple, only the fortified entrance showed scorch marks! (Metzger 2012: 88). Although these signs of burning did not denote a major blaze and thus a violent destruction of the temple, the habitat was abandoned late in the MBA II period, and it decayed.



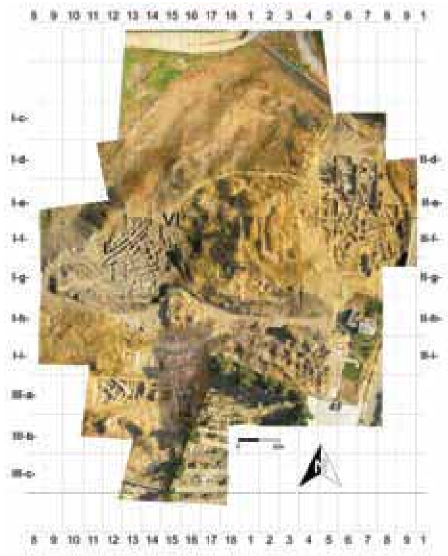


▲ Figs 109, 110: The two phases of the city 2 development. The early phase (left) with temple T 5, palace MBP 2, the administrative area, phase 1, and the northern residential area, building period 6, building level 16, followed by the later phase (right) with temple T 4, palace MBP 2, the administrative area, phase 1, and the northern residential area, building period 6, building level 14. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: 130, Abb. 17 and Tafel 15.

6.1.3 The housing estates of the 2nd MBA II city were still (or again) located in the area west of the temple and at the northern edge of the site

The two districts that had already been established as residential areas during the MBA I period (and earlier) were once again chosen (or still in use?) as housing areas.

6.1.3.1 Signs of residences in the west



► Fig. 111: Location of the remains indicating a residential area west of the temple for city 2. Source: Archive Heinz.

The MBA II buildings set up west of the temple area are not yet known to us in detail. The reason for this lack of information lies again in the utilization history of the area. It was built over with houses during the Late Bronze Age (see figs 111 – 113). The several trenches that we dug in this area however, provided information about the earliest activities known so far (from EBA to MBA) (see chapter II.1), and additional trenches dug in buildings I, C, D and E and A, B and H provided the evidence – burnt bricks, stone walls (buildings A, D and E), and pottery – for settlement activities during the later MBA II period. That is, the western residential area existed throughout the Middle Bronze Age; whether it existed continuously or with interruptions has yet to be determined. At the end of the MBA II, the residential area was given up, as was temple T 4, and it decayed.

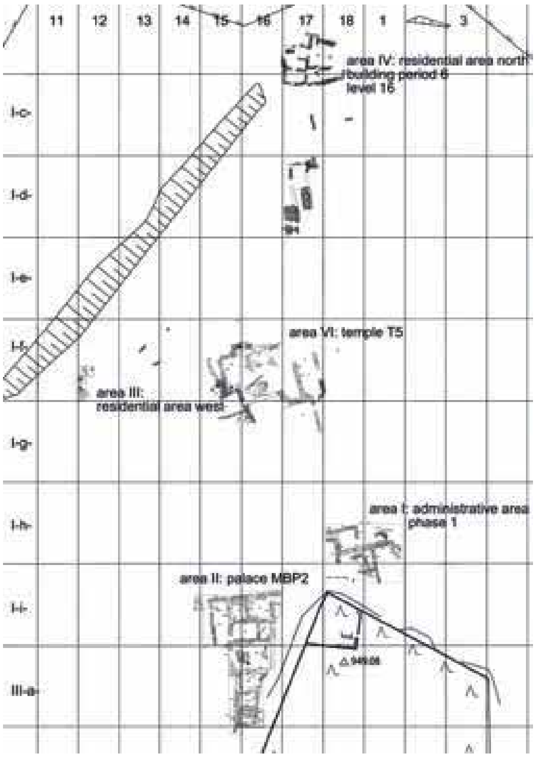
▼ Figs 112, 113: Aerial view and site map of the remains indicating a residential area west of the temple for city 2. Source: Archive Heinz.

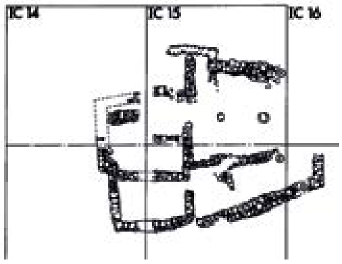




6.1.3.2 Houses, a pathway, and a fortification: The settlers were back in the northern habitat

Resettlement activities in the north, area IV, began with the building of a detached courtyard house right at the edge of the northern slope, house no. 1. It was not the first building set up in this area. The reader may recall

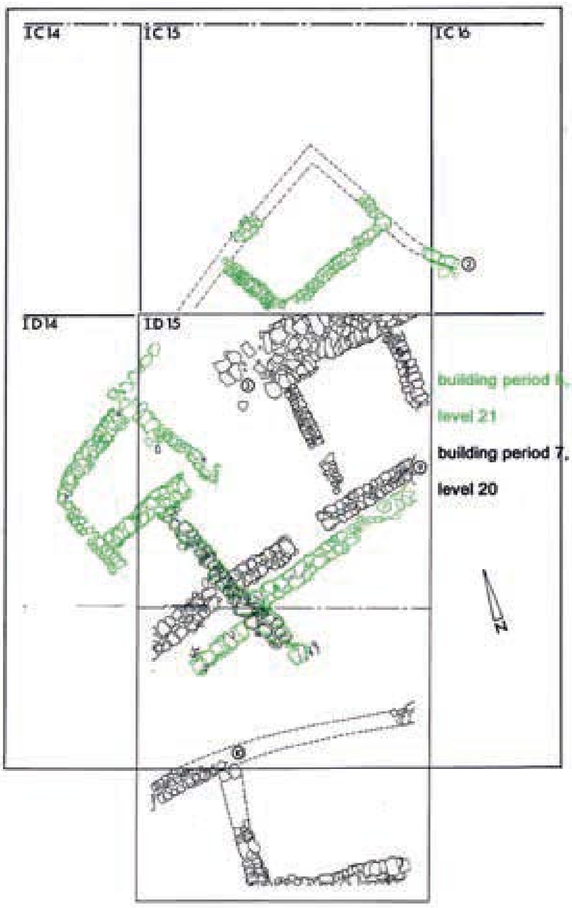




◀ Figs 114, 115: City 2 and house no. 1 in the northern area, building period 6, building level 16. Sources: Archive Heinz; Metzger 2012: Tafel 46; Hachmann 1989: 63.

that this habitat was already settled and had a courtyard house during the MBA I period (building period 8, building level 21), and when the first MBA II city emerged, this area was fortified (see fig. 116, building period 7, building levels 20-17 and chapters II.2 and 4.1.4).

The new MBA II house (house no. 1, building period 6, building level 16, city 2) consisted of at least four rooms and a central courtyard. It encompassed about 250 square meters. The small northern room served as an entrance into the house and at the same time as passage space into the courtyard. Several large vessels were sunken into the floors of the southern rooms, which served to store food and/or liquids. We call this house a "residence." As a building type, the present courtyard building is characteristic for Kamid el-Loz. We would like to remind you, the reader, however, once again of the uncertainty in archaeological research when it comes to the functional designation of buildings. Courtyard buildings were set up and served in Kamid el-Loz as houses, temples, and palaces. In the above case, we have not yet uncovered any other buildings in the neighborhood. It remains thus to be clarified (by further excavations) whether this building was

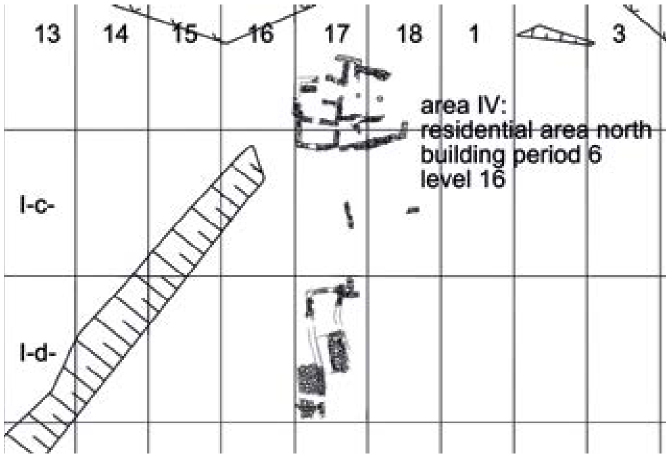


◀ Fig. 116: The MBA I courtyard house, building period 8, building level 21, and the fortification (city 1), building period 7, building levels 20-17. Sources: Archive Heinz; Hachmann 1989: 65.

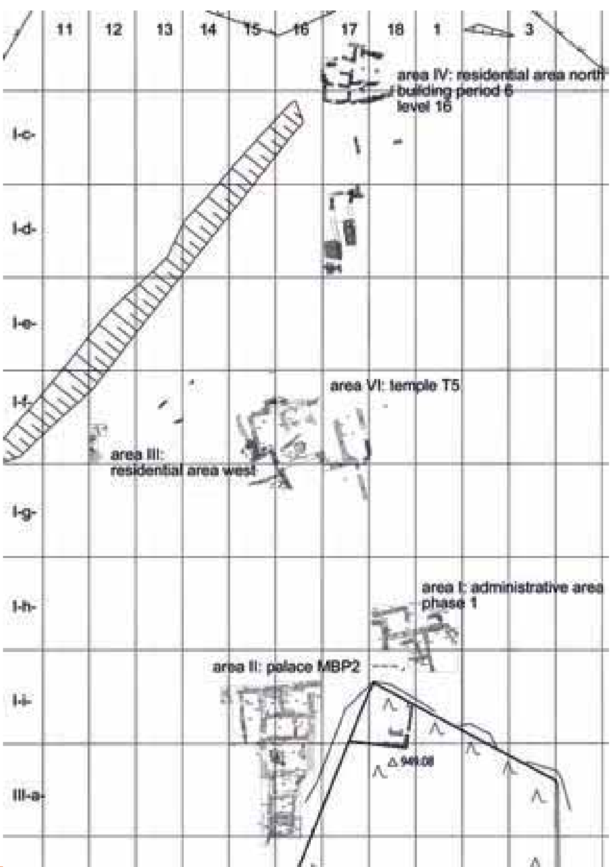
a single, outstanding, large house or a typical representative of a local house, surrounded by similar residences.

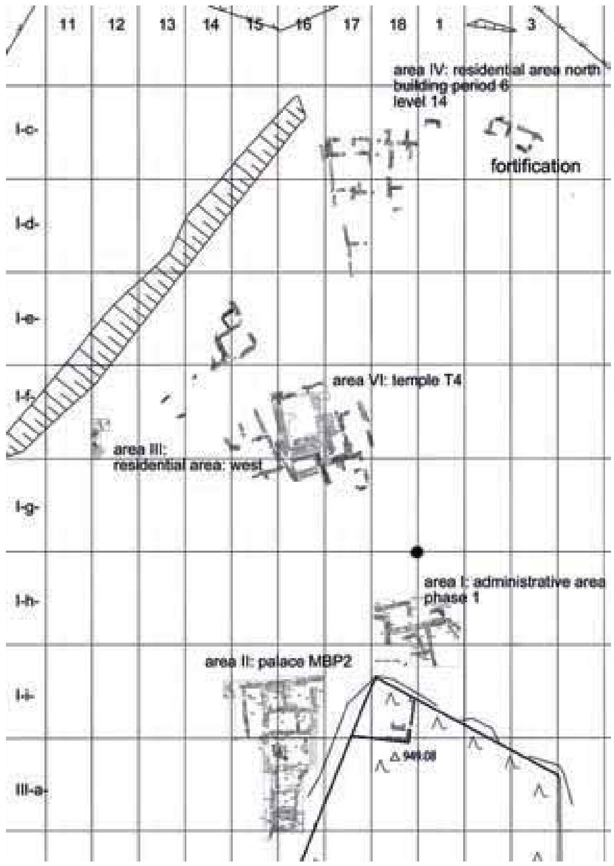
South of house no. 1, the settlers created a pathway carefully paved with smoothed stones, which traversed the area in a north-south direction. The house, although solidly built with stone and brick, burned down. The pathway, though obviously not affected by the fire, also lost its function and was given up. The burning did not lead to the abandonment of the entire northern district. Indeed, the settlers gave up the burnt area and left this part of the habitat open and the burnt remains to decay.

At the same time, they re-secured the area south of the destroyed precinct by setting up another fortification wall and an additional living area (building period 6, here building level 14).

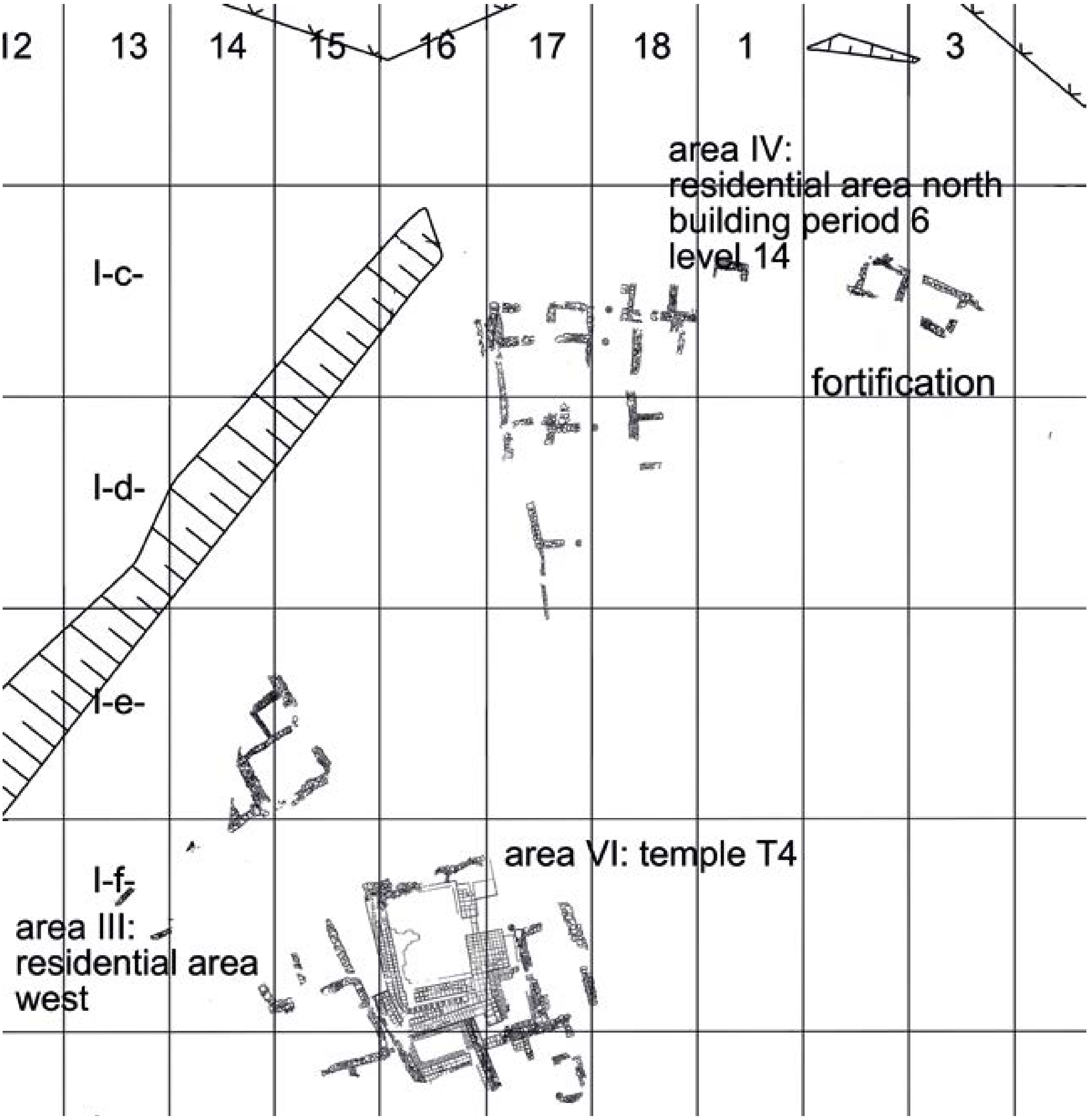


► Fig. 117: House no. 1 and the southern pathway. Sources: Archive Heinz; Hachmann 1989: 63.





▼ Figs 118, 119: City 2, northern area in building period 6, building level 16 (left) and building level 14 (right). Sources: Archive Heinz; Hachmann 1989: 63; Metzger 2012: Tafel 46; Echt 1984: 55, 130, Abb. 17 and Tafel 15.



Both, building a defense wall in this part of the settlement and establishing an additional living area were not new. Already at the time of the first MBA II city this habitat was settled and fortified (see figs 73 – 74, building period 7, building level 20 and fig. 116).

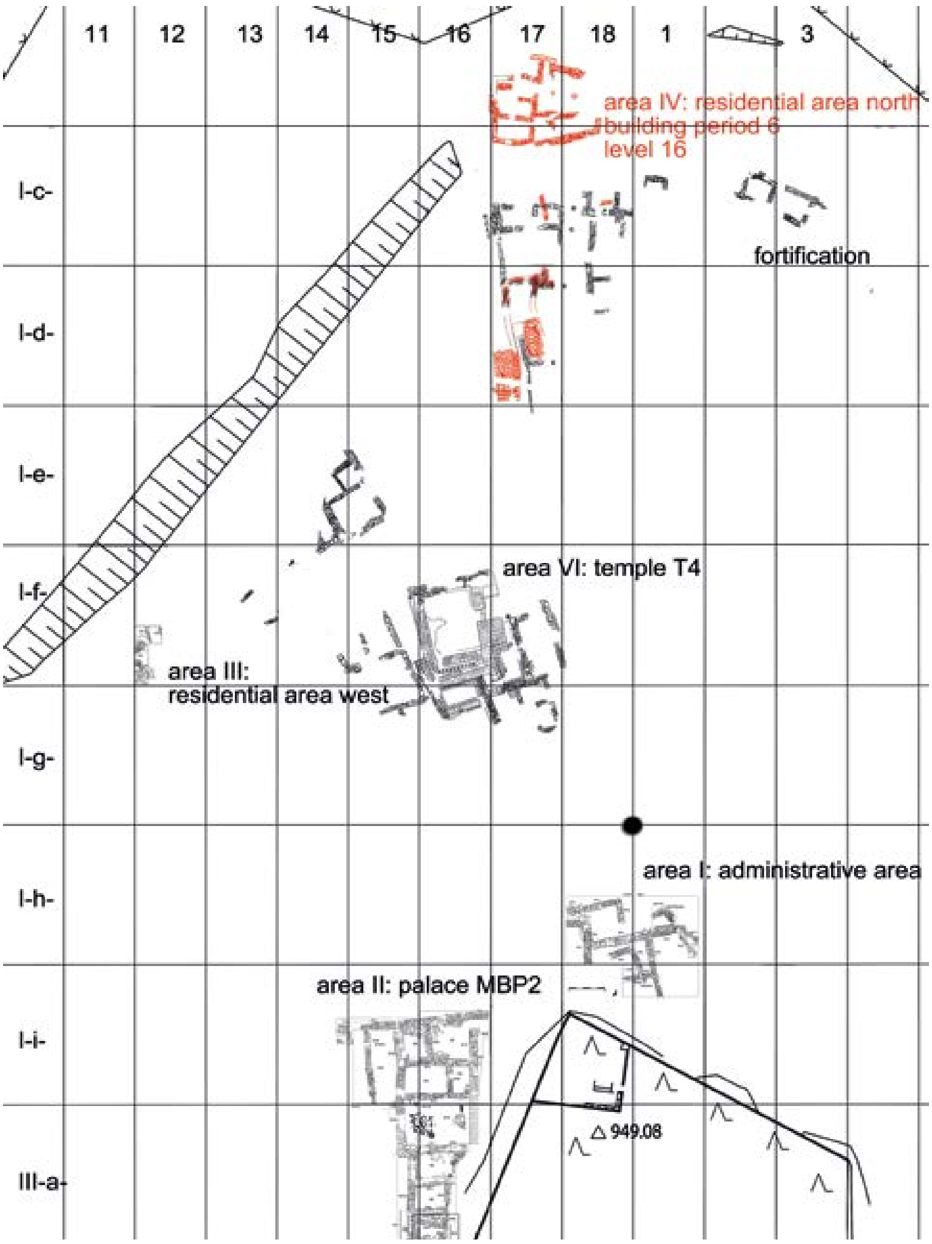
New, however, was the kind of wall structure chosen for the defensive fortification. It now consisted of several interrelated "rooms," which were built as a slightly bent row. The outer, northern walls of each of these "rooms" of the casemate wall were 0.7 – 1m wide. Together they formed a continuous front and were interpreted by the excavators as the protective wall (Echt 1984: 55ff. and Tafel 15, building period 6, building levels 15/14).

The wall fenced off the back of the city to the north, while the new settlement extended south of it. Several architectural units were maintained that constitute a building we call house no. 2 (here building period 6, building level 14). This house was, as was house no. 1 (building period 6, building level 16, see figs 114 – 115), to be entered from the north. The entrance

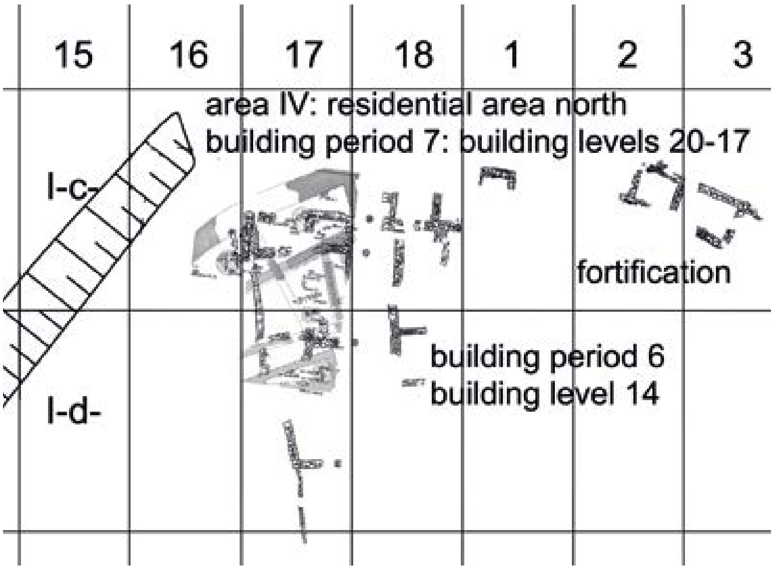
▲ Fig. 120: Defense wall of building period 6, building level 15/14 (interrelated rooms), south of it the isochronic residential structure, house no. 2, here building period 6, building level 14, both MBA II, city 2. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: 55 and Tafel 15.

seems to have led straight into the central courtyard. The settlers thus had retained the old custom of building courtyard houses, the house type characteristic for Kamid el-Loz, and more: Both the building material, the use of stone and bricks and the building technique were in keeping with the local tradition. Located south and east of this courtyard, additional rooms were preserved, interrelated to each other, but not well enough maintained to reconstruct a coherent scheme or ground plan. Knowledge about the local traditional architecture and construction methods, however, was available.

Over and above that, the settlers knew not only that the habitat had been settled before, but also where the remains of these older structures had been set up. House no. 2 (building period 6, building levels 15/14; building level 14 is pictured in fig. 121, color-coded black) partially integrated walls of the former pathway (building period 6, building level 16, color-coded red).



► Fig. 121: House no. 2 of building period 6, building level 14 partially used and built over the older pathway walls of building period 6, building level 16. Sources: Archive Heinz; Hachmann 1989: 63; Echt 1984: 55 and Tafel 15.



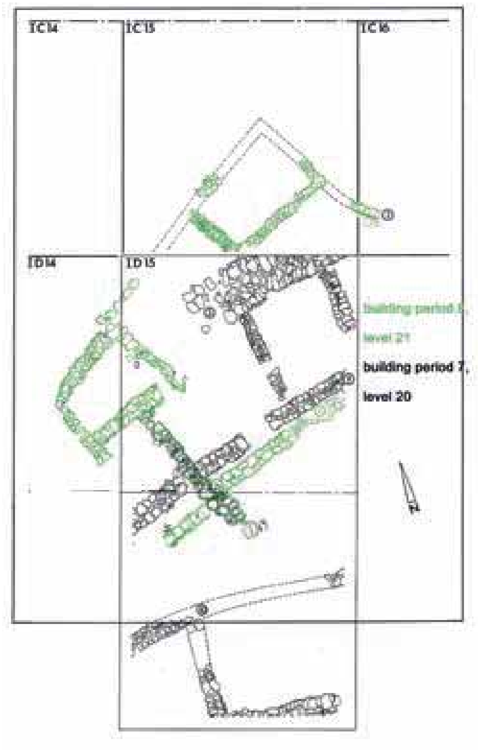
▲ Fig. 122: House no. 2, building period 6, here building level 14, was built over the area in which graves had twice been placed, during the phase of city 1 and during the first phase of anomie. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: 55 and Tafel 15; Miron 1982: 102, Abb. 16 and 103, Abb. 17.

House no. 2 (building period 6, building level 14) was furthermore built over the area in which burials had twice been placed, first during the time of city 1 (burials no. 96 and no. 113, building period 7, building levels 20 – 17; see chapter 4.1.4, fig. 75) and then during the phase of the first anomie, following the end of the MBA II city 1 and preceding the emergence of city 2 (7 adults, 18 children – see chapter 5.1, figs 79 – 80).
This issue, to build over a cemetery, raises the question of whether the settlers knew about the existence and location of these burials. To build over a cemetery would be a delicate undertaking in many societies today. The topic we are currently discussing is thus: Was the placement of house no. 2 on top of the burials an unwitting act? Or was it, on the contrary, a conscious act and thus a break with the former custom? Was it a conscious act that carried on a local tradition; that is, did it keep the living and the dead spatially close to each other? Did the house no. 2 have any special connections to the burials? This context leads us thus once again to the problem of the functional designation of the buildings that we are excavating.
The area was fortified after the previous building, house no. 1, had burnt down. We wonder whether this activity, the safeguarding of the settlement, was possibly initiated by this event. Whatever the initial cause was for setting up the wall and whatever hope the builders and settlers had in connection with this structure, the fortification did not prevent the area from suffering once again the same fate as its predecessor. A very thick ash layer shows unequivocally how the use of the area ceased at the end of the MBA II period.
The building history of the northern residential area is complex. A short synopsis will help to orient the readers. A visual overview will complete this synopsis. The numbering of the houses follows here as an exception in order of their construction.

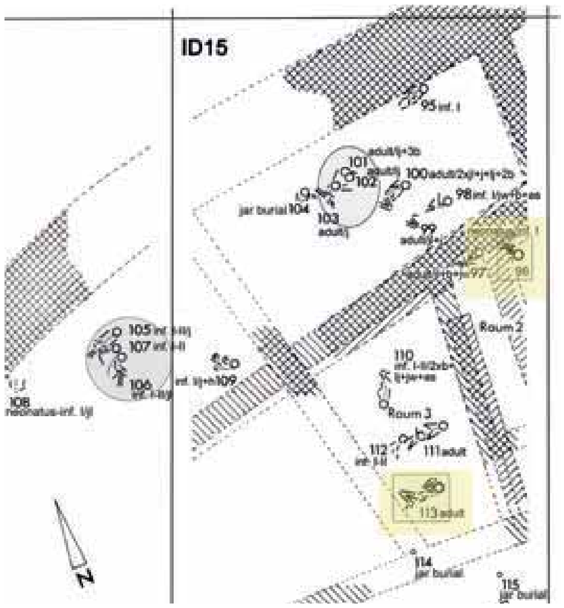
A preliminary summing up of the development of the *northern residential area* during the second urban development of Kamid el-Loz (city 2, MBA II)

Era	Communal organization	Area	Excavated evidence	Building period and levels according to Echt/Hachmann	References to figures here
MBA II	City 2	I D-15	House no. 2 and fortification	building p. 6 building l. 14	Figs 119, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126
MBA II	City 2	I D-15	House no. 1 and pathway	building p. 6 building l. 16	Figs 114, 115, 117, 118, 121, 125
MBA II	Anomie	I D-15	Graves: 7 adults, 18 children	dug into the abandoned houses of level 17	Figs 79-80, 124
MBA II	City 1	I D-15	Rooms, fortification, two graves, no. 96 and no. 113	building p. 7 building l. 20-17	Figs 73-75, 124
MBA I	Pre-urban (?)	I C/D-15	Courtyard house	building p. 8 building l. 21	Figs 44-45, 123

A visual overview: The development of the northern area (area IV) from MBA I to MBA II

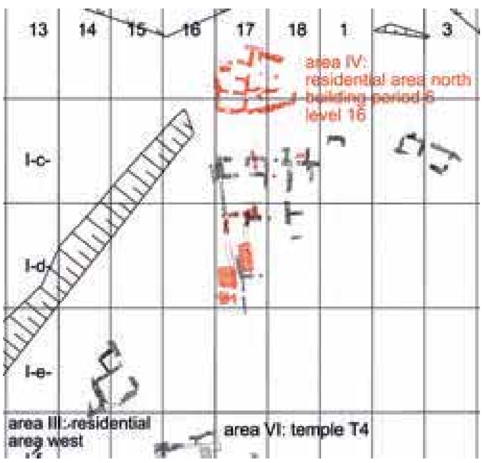


▲ Fig. 123: The MBA I: courtyard house, building period 8, building level 21; the MBA II fortification, city 1, building period 7, building level 20.

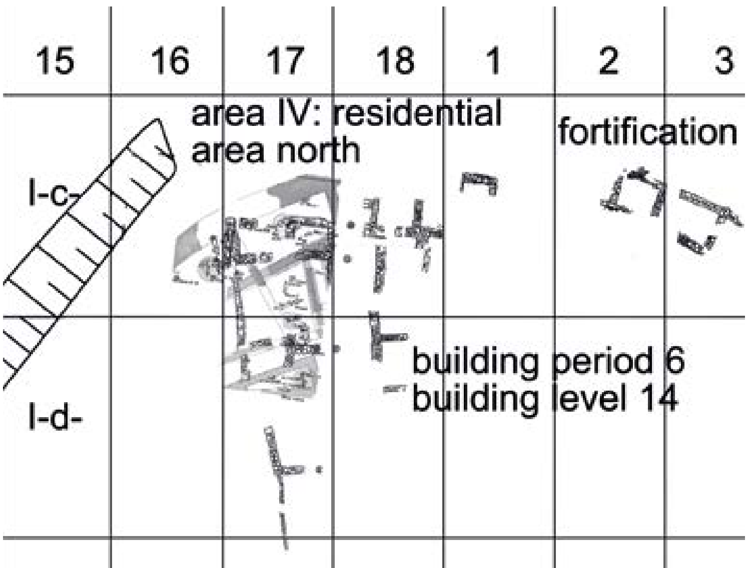


▲ Fig. 124: The MBA II: rooms, fortification, graves 96 and 113, building period 7, building levels 20-17, city 1; first phase of anomie: post city 1, graves in decaying houses (7 adults, 18 children).

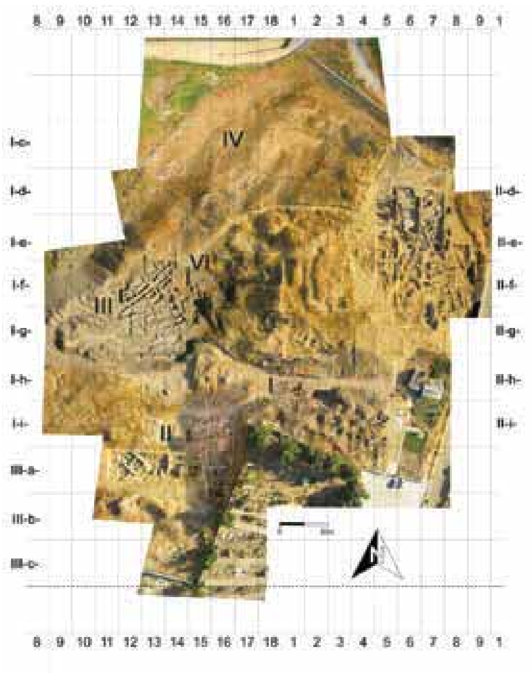
▼ Fig. 125: The MBA II: house no. 1 and pathway, city 2, building period 6, building level 16; house no. 2 and fortification, city 2, building period 6, building level 14.

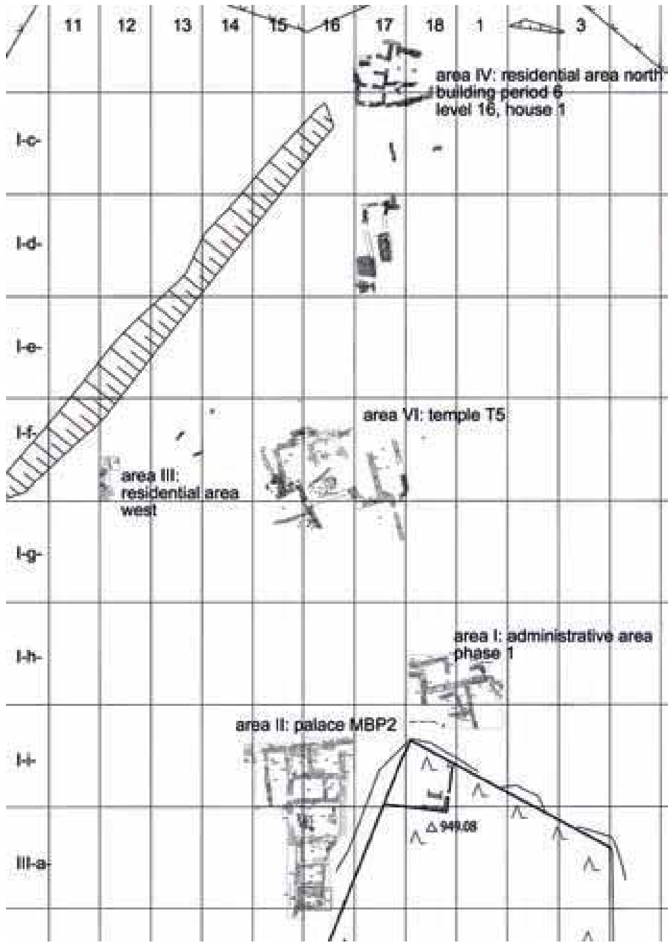


▼ Fig. 126: The MBA II: house no. 2, city 2, building period 6, building level 14, built over the older house remains resp. the graves entombed into the decaying houses.



6.2 The second urban period in MBA II Kamid el-Loz started well but ended violently



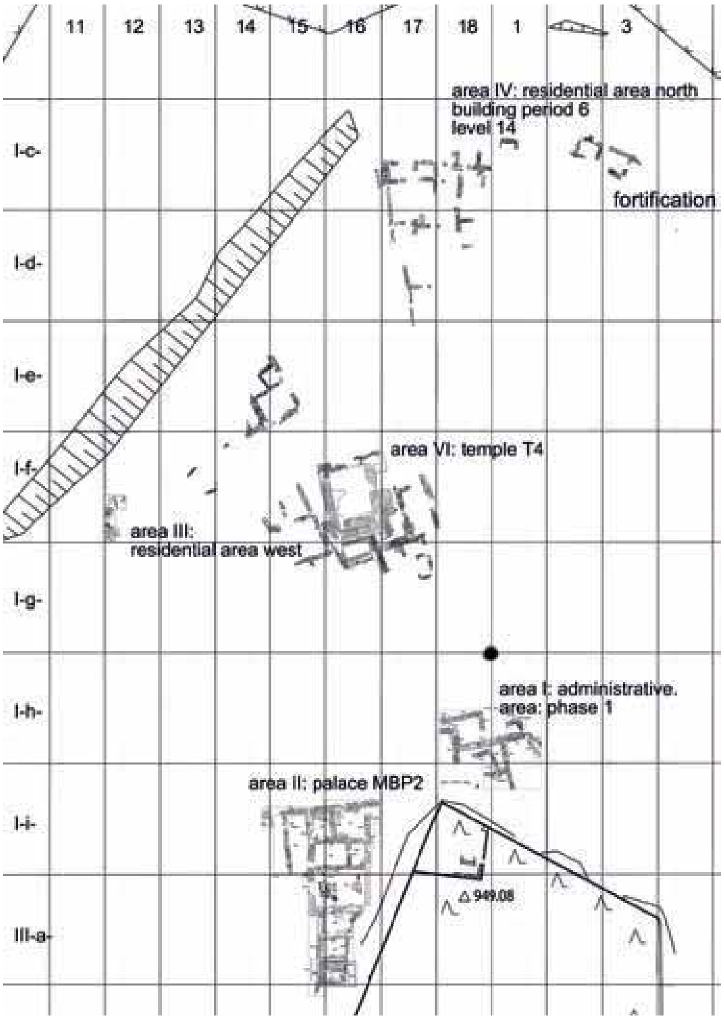


▲► Figs 127, 128: The distribution and location of the buildings and areas mentioned above, forming the older infrastructure of city 2, MBA II. Sources: Archive Heinz; Hachmann 1989: 63; Metzger 2012: Tafel 46.

The second MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz started well. The palace, MBP 2, and the administrative area, phase 1 were rebuilt, the temple area was redeveloped with “temple T 5”, and the living areas west of the temple (captured by soundings so far) and in the north, captured with house no. 1 (building period 6, building level 16) were reestablished.

After a period of yet unknown duration, the temple area as well as the living area in the north burned down and the buildings were ruined. The utilization of both areas continued, but the architecture as well as the space design of these habitats changed entirely.

Temple T 4 was a building type unique in the building history of Kamid el-Loz. The northern settlement area was once again fortified, albeit with a technical, new type of defense architecture. The fortification and the structure of house no. 2 merged. After this later phase of urban development, another blaze hit the city, and this time the fire thoroughly destroyed the palace, MBP 2; the administrative area, phase 1; and the settlement in the north described above. Temple T 4 shows scorch marks at the fortified entrance, although, unlike the other areas, it obviously did not burn down entirely but was abandoned and allowed to decay. The effect of the burning was once again disastrous. For the second time, the city life came to a halt and once again the settlers had to leave their place of residence.



◄ Fig. 129: The location and distribution of the buildings and areas mentioned above, forming the younger infrastructure of city 2, MBA II. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 15.

6.3 A multifaceted series of events took place in city 2: When did each event – building, burning, rebuilding, and abandoning – occur?

Again, we complete our presentation and analysis of the excavated evidence with a critical reflection on the chronological order of the events that occurred from the beginning to the end of the second MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz. We propose a preliminary explanation of the sequence and correlation of activities, as we did in chapter 4.1.5 (Communal buildings burnt, settlers' houses decayed: when did this all happen?) and chapter 5.2 (Squatters in the temple area? Or the continuation of cultic activities in devastated surroundings?).

According to our current model, all the buildings of the second MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz were reestablished at about the same time; that is, the rebuilding marks the beginning of the second phase of urban life at Kamid el-Loz. This period of expansion was architecturally represented by the palace, MBP 2; the first phase of the administrative building; the "temple" T 5; and the two residential areas – the one in the west and the one in the north, the latter represented by house no. 1 and a pathway, building period 6, building level 16. After a period of undisturbed settlement activities, a blaze destroyed temple T 5 and the residential area in the north with house

no. 1 (building period 6, building level 16). All other areas remained unaffected by this devastation. The destruction, according to our interpretation, was repaired immediately. Temple T 4 was built, and in the northern residential area, house no. 2 and a new fortification wall were set up (building period 6, building level 14). Urban life continued, and only another blaze that hit Kamid el-Loz led once again to the abandonment of the city. The blaze destroyed palace MBP 2, the administrative building of phase 1, house no. 2, and the fortification. The temple, T 4, and the residential area west of the temple were spared from the fire but were (as a result of the overall destruction?) given up and allowed to decay.

Our interpretation of the sequence of events that took place in city 2 is currently only a model. This model still lacks all the archaeological data needed to validate our proposition; that is, it depicts one possible explanation among other possible scenarios. What, however, made us choose this explanation?

We base our definition of what a city is and how it functions on the one hand, on the insights that geographers, sociologists, ethnologists, economists, and political scientists came up with when studying recent urban developments, and, on the other hand, on the ancient Near Eastern texts that describe the essential infrastructure of such a city (see also chapter II.3, Urban beginnings? What evidence is needed to classify Kamid el-Loz as urban…?).

According to present-day urban studies, a city needs institutions that rule and regulate the municipal affairs. According to the texts of ancient Mesopotamia, corresponding functions were vested in the palace and the temple. If one of the significant institutions failed in the long run, the regular functioning of such a city should not be possible.

It is this scenario that we had in mind when devising our interpretation of the development of city 2. When "temple" T 5 fell victim to the blaze, its replacement by temple T 4 should have occurred rather quickly in order for the city and its community to survive. The temple and the residential area were rebuilt, and urban life continued. Why, however, the destruction of the palace did not lead to its repair but to the abandonment of the city and the urban mode of life at Kamid el-Loz is a question that is yet to be answered.

The methods we use in archaeology to evaluate the modes and the functioning of urban life in the past, however, are not entirely uncontroversial.

We use the definition of "city" that has been developed by the scholars of the above mentioned social sciences and which is based on current insights into today's urban environments. According to these latter-day definitions, we "look" into the past and at the excavated evidence. We try to find the parameters that fit the definition, and thus define the excavated settlement as a "city" and the communities living there as "urban". Can we find out what a city was in the past, however, when we follow this procedure, starting from a set of ideas of what the built as well as the social and functional components of a city and an urban community should be, in order to categorize a settlement as a "city" and the community as "urban"? Does the given terminology thus possibly predetermine what we see? (Related to these questions is our discussion in chapters I. 1 and II.1.) Do we possibly miss the chance to find out if "urban" might have been very different in the past than how we define this term today, even if we consult the ancient texts? What, how-

ever, could an alternative procedure be? This challenge is not only part of a debate that is widespread in in archaeological research but also part of a larger discourse, namely, the question of whether those dealing with the past actually reconstruct past events or rather construct history!

Conclusions: Life in the second MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz – according to the model and assumptions presented above

I conclude the examination of the second urban development with an overview of the building history and a tentative correlation of buildings, building periods, and levels in table form. It provides the reader with a synopsis of the events that occurred, and forms or serves as the basis of the interpretations I formulated concerning what had been going on in city 2 of Kamid el-Loz and the developments that followed after the abandonment of city 2 – the second phase of anomie (chapter 7).

City 2 – the advanced phase of the Middle Bronze Age II: A short summary in table form

Period	Evidence					
Later MBA II	pottery, walls **trench 1 west of the temple area**	pottery **trench 2 west of the palace area**	architecture and pottery **palace MBP 2**	architecture and pottery **administrative area, phase 1**	architecture and pottery **temple area temple T 4** architecture and pottery **temple area temple T 5**	architecture, house no. 2 and fortification **residential area north, building period 6, building level 14** architecture, house no. 1 and pathway **residential area north, building period 6, building level 16**

Period	Evidence					
1st anomie	- **trench 1 west of the temple area**	- **trench 2 west of the palace area**	- **palace area**	- **administrative area**	wall structures, fireplaces, a stone built cist grave **temple area**	graves dug into the abandoned houses of building period 7, building level 17; 7 adults, 18 children **residential area north**
Early MBA II	pottery **trench 1 west of the temple area**	pottery **trench 2 west of the palace area**	architecture and pottery **palace MBP 3**	burnt bricks and pottery **administrative area, phase 2**	burnt bricks and pottery **temple area "temple T 6"**	rooms and fortification, pottery, two burials (nos 96 and 113) **residential area north, building period 7, building levels 20-17**
MBA I	pottery **trench 1**	pottery **trench 2**	trodden floor **trench 5 III-a-16** pottery **trench 3**	pottery **trench 4**	-	courtyard house **residential area north, building period 8, building level 21**

The material culture of the second MBA II city showed a large number of parallels with the first one. These are, in my opinion, noteworthy. The first MBA II city was severely destroyed and, as we learned from the archaeological evidence, very few people lived at the site during the phase of anomie that followed the destruction. So, whoever the people were who began the reurbanization of Kamid el-Loz and who built up the second city, they had knowledge at their disposal that was consistent with the knowledge of those who had built the first city.

The first commonalities are related to technological knowledge. The high level of mechanical skills and the settlers' understanding of their environment remained virtually unchanged over several hundred years, and this despite the period of the first anomie which interrupted the regular settle-

ment activities. We recognize the continuous availability of knowledge with regard to building techniques and the origin, handling, and properties of building materials, clay, bricks, stone, and wood. The builders and residents of Kamid el-Loz used standardized measurements, for example consistently sized bricks, and had a firm understanding of static and the interplay of different building materials in constructing the various kind of buildings: residences, temples and palaces. Over hundreds of years, the natural environment and its potentials were known to the settlers, returnees, and newcomers. Stone and wood were at their disposal, they knew where these resources could be found; how to break the rock; how to trim it; when and how to cut the trees; and how to carry the stones and trees to the site. They had the needed tools at their disposal as well as the means of transport.

The next striking aspect is the spatial design. The settlers of the second city retained the old custom of setting the palace apart, placing it on the highest spot of the site. They integrated the temple, as before, into the western residential area. They resettled the residential area north of the temple, beginning with house no. 1, building period 6, level 16, which burnt down, set up another house, house no. 2, building period 6, level 14, and now fortified this district. Did they know the former distribution of buildings (and functions?) and thus copied the old order? Alternatively, did this order simply present the then typical spatial design of a city? We are currently discussing these aspects and our initial insights will be given with the *excursus* below.

An additional continuity here becomes visible: Over the centuries, the courtyard building fulfilled not only the requirements of residences but also the representational and functional needs of the palace, the administration, and the temple! Needs changed over the course of time and with them the individual forms of the houses; the courtyard, however, remained the essential architectural component and survived all modifications! In addition to all of the continuities and modifications, of course innovations occurred as well, reflecting the diversity of knowledge, needs, and options that had developed. Temple T 4 was the first and only building set up in the history of Kamid el-Loz with a fortress-like entrance design, and the fortification built in the northern area and set up as a casemate wall (building period 6, building level 14, fig. 129) differed formally as well as technically from the defense set up in the first MBA II city (chapter 4.1.4., figs 73 – 74). The builders of the pathway had obviously taken into consideration the weather conditions in Kamid el-Loz: snow in the winter and rain in autumn and spring. The careful covering of the pathways' surface with stone plates ensured its usability throughout the entire year.

Both the continuities as well as the innovations provoke a variety of questions. Who were the people who started the resettlement? What did the returnees or the new settlers know about the traditions, needs, and functions of the former city and its inhabitants? Did the formal similarities, especially in the spatial design in both MBA II cities of Kamid el-Loz, also mean functional identity? Were the social, political, cultural, and religious needs of the inhabitants of both cities comparable, and did this similarity express itself in the formal closeness of the cityscape? What actually triggered the disasters that ended city 1 as well as city 2? Who or what initiated the burnings, and who had to cope with the results of the destructions, that is, how did those affected deal with the elimination of their livelihood? A

lively discussion of these issues is currently taking place, and some of our preliminary thoughts will be given in the following *excursus*.

Excursus: Abandonment and resettlement, people and processes

1. Abandonment of the MBA II city 1 and resettling of the MBA II city 2 – what actually happens in these processes?

The processes of the abandonment, as well as the resettlement of a place raise manifold questions that not only we (the archaeologists) but also the visitors to the site and interested followers of the excavations in Kamid el-Loz reflect on, discuss, and try to answer.

Our primary conversation is specifically about the question of what happened to the people of Kamid el-Loz when the blaze hit the first MBA II city. We are currently discussing several options. The first is that the burning and destruction killed all of the residents. At Kamid el-Loz, we do not think that this happened. Not a single dead body has been found in the burnt structures that document the end of the first MBA II city. The burials (in the residential area in the north and the temple precinct) stemming from the interim period were definitely carried out after the burnt remains had begun to decay. The dead thus had obviously not been victims of the blaze. The absence of corpses in the ruins rather leads us to believe that the then inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz had survived the fire in one way or another. Various scenarios are plausible, albeit not yet proven. The fire might have been caused by the attack of an enemy, who, during the course of the assault, took the inhabitants prisoner and deported them. We consider this one possible explanation for the fact that no dead have been found in the ruins. Our assessment is based on the textual evidence known from the neighboring areas, where this action by the aggressors is attested since the 3rd millennium B.C. Of course, we can exclude neither the possibility that a local problem, a rebellion, caused the blaze, nor the possibility that the burning of the city met local ritual demands – and that the local events allowed the people to plan in advance to hunker down in a safe place. All of the above scenarios could explain the fact that no dead have been found in the ruins. Finally, yet importantly, we should consider the possibility that the returnees or the newcomers had found dead people in the ruins and had taken care of them before restarting the building activities. As mentioned, however, people might have been able to save themselves, to seek shelter, or to escape, either before the fire broke out or during the blaze. Those who might have saved themselves from death and captivity had then several options for survival, which we can see every day in our current world. People move to other cities or villages nearby to find shelter with family members and friends. They may go back to their homes when it seems to be appropriate to do so. It is of course not impossible that the survivors leave the place forever, move on to a neighbored area, stay there and/or set up a new settlement. However, people fulfill tasks in a community – they have duties, roles, functions, and status positions in their families as well as in their communities. What happens to each single person when she or he has to leave her or his home and all familiar landmarks? What happens to their connections with the other former community members, to routines, habits, and traditions that once kept the community together? One thing is

certain: the once established social order, the network of relationships and contacts, is gone for ever in an affected city, settlement, and community.

2. Who are the people who resettle a place?

When the resettlement of a place occurs, our first question is, who are the people who begin the settlement activities anew? Are they returnees? Are they newcomers? This question is interrelated with a series of further questions. What do those who resettle a former abandoned site know about this location? Do they know its history or its fate? What do they come across when they begin to resettle a former lived-in site? Is the former architectural and structural order still visible? Are the variety of functions and meanings of buildings and places, the social organization, the needs of the former community, and the expression of these needs with the help of the build environment known to them? And moreover, do the returnees or the newcomers have the same needs when they begin to form a new community?

The first general theory about these issues starts from the presupposition that the survivors returned to the site: As stated above, when a city burns down, the inhabitants leave the area – for just some weeks or months – and then come back to rebuild their homes and the infrastructure. The rebuilding would thus be done by those who were acquainted with the local situation. They knew the former cultural traditions and the habitat in all its facets (a situation that we face in in the present when earthquakes occur and when cities burn down or are destroyed by flood). On their return, the persons concerned try to recreate their lost heritage, their lost world, and the surroundings in which they had grown up, the surroundings that reflected their life stories, their traditions, and their families' past.

The second hypothesis begins with the assumption that the children and grandchildren of the survivors return. The absence of the former settlers from their hometown can last longer, for years or even for generations. Every war in the world causes outcomes of this kind. Those who left the city are then either too old to come back or have died in the meantime. Those who possibly come back are the children and grandchildren, who know the former city by the narrations of their parents and/or grandparents but not by personal experience. The knowledge of the past and the "lost lifestyle" of their relatives is thus handed down to these generations; this knowledge does not come from their own experiences but from the narratives of the older generations. These offspring might come back to the old city, renew the given structures, rebuild them, and even reestablish the former functions. A reproduction of, or close similarity to the old order expressed by the material heritage is possible, but this should not obscure the fact that the meaning of this new material world can potentially be a completely different one. The children and grandchildren, knowing the former situation through the stories of their families, however, need not at all have had any personal relationships to the old infrastructure, architectural style, and spatial order. They would thus potentially rebuild it for many reasons. Where family groups were still involved, the initial impetus may have been nostalgia or to carry on a family tradition. The motivating force to reuse the old inventory, however, may as well have been simple practical and economic reasons.

The last option we are suggesting is that newcomers took over the abandoned site and reconstructed it according to the past order. No knowledge about the past social and functional rules and regulations is presupposed. The hypothetical explanation for the copying of the old order is rather that the burnt buildings were still visible, and the intact walls were used as a base and foundation for the new structures. Rebuilding proceeds faster than the development of a new city design and new building plans; the rebuilding saves time, costs, and energy.

The hypothetical explanations given so far show one of the challenges that archaeological research faces, namely, to answer the question of what the catalyst was for people in the past to act and to produce the material world that archaeologists then, many thousands of years later, recover and study.

3. How did the process of resettlement proceed at Kamid el-Loz? What do we "see" as archaeologists? What do we ask? What do we postulate?

When the reurbanization began in Kamid el-Loz, those who built the new city strictly followed the spatial design and spatial order of the older, burnt city; that is, the rebuilding took place in all former settled areas – and mainly in the areas of the once official functions – making use of the older building remains. According to our theories above, this renewal of the older local building order is not necessarily self-evident. It might even come as a surprise, considering the actions of the interim users of the site who did not at all follow the former given order and functions of the areas reused. (For the situation during the first anomie see chapter 5; for the second anomie following the blaze that hit city 2, see chapter 7).

So how could the people who conducted the resettlement reconstruct the former city plan, the spatial design? How could they determine the distribution and location of the architecture over the terrain? We proceed from our educated guess that the burnt and decayed structures were visible when the new settlers arrived on site. This visibility, according to our explanation, made the reuse of the older structures possible to such an extent and with such accuracy. Our archaeological findings showed that people removed the burnt and decayed bricks, filled the burnt rooms with the rubble, levelled the ground, and then rebuilt the houses on top of these newly prepared surfaces. In connection with our attempt to explain the rebuilding process of Kamid el-Loz, we are currently discussing how much time could possibly have passed between the collapse of the buildings and the recolonization of ancient Kamid el-Loz. The overgrowing of an abandoned area of Kamid el-Loz today takes about 15-20 years. After this period of time, the old building remains are completely covered with dust, earth, and plants and thus are no longer visible. If we thus assume that the new settlers were still able to see the burnt and decayed remains, and if the overgrowing in the past took a comparable period of time as now (and no one had conserved the remains), then resettlement activities could have started within 15 to 20 years after the city's burning and decay. Very solid and detailed chronological data, however, are needed to support this model, which at the moment can be no more than an intellectual pastime. Only after we have established a precise and detailed chronological frame can we pick up our questions again.

The formal reestablishment of the burnt MBA II city, closely aligned to the former layout, is thus visible. This observation raises the question of whether the formal similarity equaled the functional and non-material conceptual similarity.

Right now, we assign the new buildings the same functions as we postulated for the first city. If this classification is correct, then the settlers of the new city would also have needed an earthly elite, religious representatives, protection from outside, and, of course, living areas. The public institutions were, as before, integrated into and segregated from the city's everyday activities, and the settlers' homes were located in the same relation to the official buildings as were those in the first MBA II city. The needs for social, religious, and political order and organization of those who set up the second MBA II city would thus, according to our theories and assumptions, have been comparable to the needs of the former community. Socially and politically, the city's rebuilding would indicate that the function of the palace, the administrative area, and the temple had neither been forgotten after the destruction of the iconic buildings nor become unnecessary for the then settlers. On the contrary, the needs for the institutions and elites had either persisted or newly developed, as had the option to endow these institutions and their representatives with new and appropriate official residences!

Last but not least, we raise the question of why, and above all, how such a hierarchy develops when new settlers start to set up a community. Who was able to establish him- or herself in powerful positions? How do people achieve these positions, how do they legitimate their roles and functions within that newly emerging community, and how do they succeed in gaining local acceptance? When we consider the spatial design and the visibility of the main buildings in Kamid el-Loz, especially the visibility of the palace, we ask why this visible representation of the local order was necessary. Who required this order, who supported it, and who benefitted from this order (and who possibly did not)?

Let us consider the recent history of today's Kamid el-Loz. For many years, if not generations, the mosque was one building among others in the old village. For many years, the office of the mayor was located in a standard house. Why, then, was it desired and decided, and by whom, to build a new mosque, larger than all other buildings of the village, visible from afar, the landmark of Kamid el-Loz today and to move the mayor's office into a new and far larger building than before? Finally, yet importantly, we thus repeat the basic question again: Why does a community need elites at all? And whose history or what aspects of the past do the archaeological remains of Kamid el-Loz reflect?

Many questions form the common thread through our research. Taken together, they shape our complex research program at Kamid el-Loz. In order to work out comprehensive solutions for the problems articulated, we archaeologists work, now often mentioned, in close cooperation with the other social sciences. We consult empirical and theoretical studies of the social, cultural, political, and economic sciences, to name but a few of the most relevant for us. Their insights are the starting points for us to consider which of these studies we may use in our archaeological research, what findings we can possibly take, adapt, and transform to the needs of our field of research in order to explain what happened in ancient Kamid el-Loz.

Further Reading:
I. Administrative area
BAAL 15, 2011: 51ff.

II. Palace area
BAAL 14, 2010: 82ff.
BAAL 15, 2011: 42ff.

III. Residential area west
BAAL 14, 2010: 68ff., 75ff.

IV. Residential area north
Echt 1984: 55ff.
Hachmann 1989: 62ff.

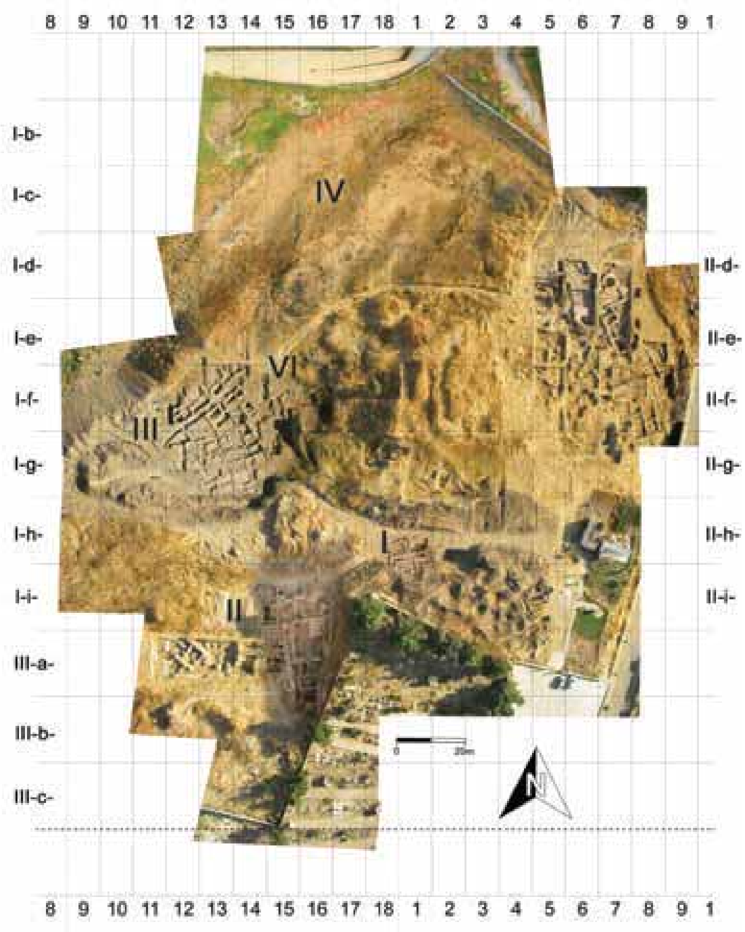
V. Temple area
Metzger 2012

In order to develop reasoned explanations for the events that took place in Kamid el-Loz, however, is it essential to clarify the chronology of these events, the temporal succession of developments that took place during the Middle Bronze Age II period. The significance of chronology becomes clear when, as shown above, we archaeologists try to find out when each of the destructions, burnings, abandonments, and rebuildings occurred. Only when we know when and where Kamid el-Loz was burnt, destroyed, and rebuilt can we, with a great deal of certainty, try to explain why all this happened. The problems that occur when archaeologists try to establish a solid chronology of events and the challenges archaeologists face when reconstructing the history of events and when trying to explain the historical development of a site have been presented above with our short remarks on the possible sequence of events that characterized the second MBA II city's development at Kamid el-Loz.

7. A second anomie affected the city of Kamid el-Loz

Who had to bear the consequences?

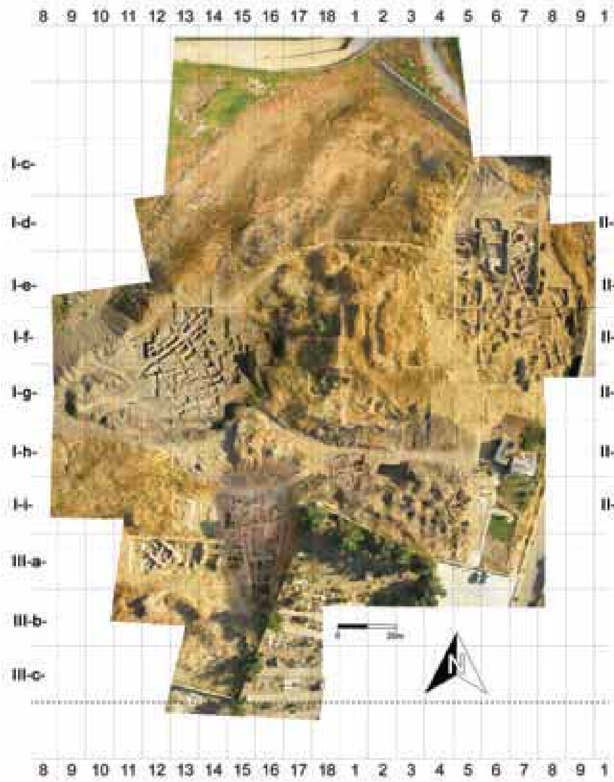
Middle Bronze Age I	Middle Bronze Age II	Middle Bronze Age II	Late Bronze Age I/II
2000 – 1750 B.C.	1750 –... city 1 / anomie 1 ... city 2 (date of beginning and end of city 2 yet unknown; date of the beginning of the second anomie yet unknown)	Second Anomie: beginning yet unknown. Ended about 1550/1500 B.C.	1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.

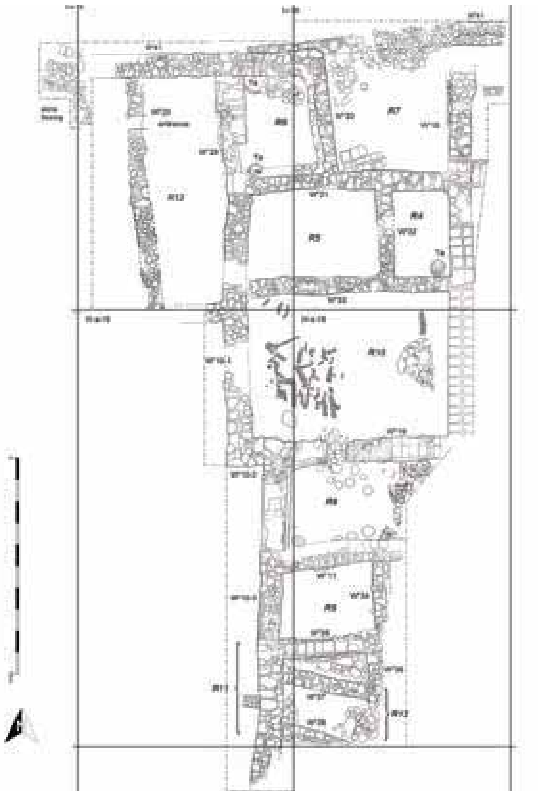


◄ Fig. 130: An overview of the site. Source: Archive Heinz.

A second major blaze hit Kamid el-Loz, this time in the late phase of the Middle Bronze Age II. Again, all institutions and areas were affected and once again the majority of inhabitants left their habitation. The palace and the administrative area were damaged by the fire as was the residential area in the north. The temple T 4 and the residential area in the west showed no signs of heavy burning but were nevertheless abandoned, given up, and allowed to decay.

7.1 The palace lost its aura, but not its ability to be utilized as a domicile





▲ Figs 131, 132: An overview of the site and the small house built over palace MBP 2 (MBA II). Source: Archive Heinz.

After the fire, the palace lost its function. Settlers staying in Kamid el-Loz recognized that the ruins and some of the walls were still usable. They leveled the burnt remains and built a small house there instead.

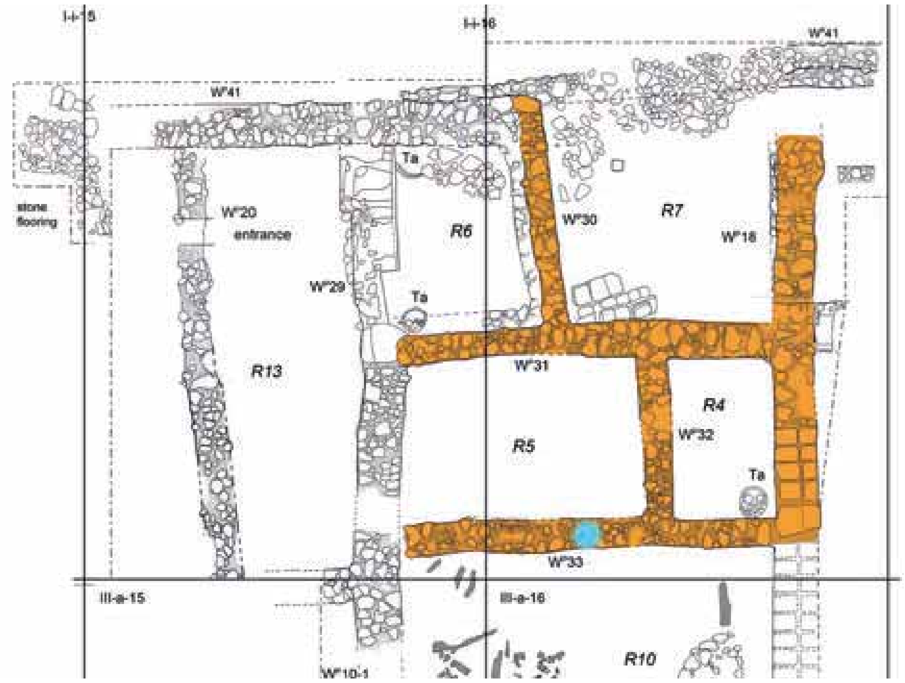
This house (representing phase MBP 1, see chapter 4.1.1) was comprised of four "rooms," or rather three rooms, R. 5, 6, and 7, and a small courtyard, R. 4. As such it represented the typical courtyard building used at Kamid el-Loz for centuries. Thus, although or particularly because the city was deteriorating and the local situation was characterized by a stage of anomie, those responsible for the building activity made use of a locally well-known building type.

Into the southern wall of room 5, W^P 33, the users integrated a vessel (see figs 133 – 135) next to the skeleton of a newborn child. To keep the de-

► Figs 133, 134: The location of the burial in the small house and the vessel belonging to this burial. Source: Archive Heinz.







◄ Fig. 135: The location of the burial and the vessel in the small house - detail. Source: Archive Heinz.

ceased close to the sphere of the living was a well-known practice at Kamid el-Loz. The placement of a burial into a houses' wall, however, constituted an unparalleled practice in the history of Kamid el-Loz.

Both this disregard for the former function of the palace and the extraordinary placement of the child's burial broke with the former local traditions. Both issues raise the question of who the people were who converted, or shall we say, even dared to convert a building of power into a building for private (?) use. A palace was, and still is, a building with a certain aura, not only in ancient Near Eastern societies, whether the people were proud of, feared, or even hated the palace representatives. Whatever the aura of the palace in Kamid el-Loz had been, the question to be asked in reference to the aftermath of the second blaze is, who dared to build over such an extraordinary place? Were they people who belonged to the local culture and tradition, who had experienced the extraordinary meaning and the singular function of the palace and its representatives? Were they people who experienced the segregation of the palace and thus the segregation of functions, people, and meanings? Would someone who was member of the community of Kamid el-Loz dare or even want to build her or his house on that symbolically meaningful spot? Had it perhaps been the case that people, knowing the former symbolic meaning of the burnt building, built over it on purpose to demonstrate the ending of a former local order? Or should we instead think that people from outside occupied the burnt village for a time of interim use? Were they thus people who were not acquainted with and not integrated into the former local traditions? Were they people who did not know the meaning of the spot they used for the building of their small house but only recognized that the left over walls were suitable to reuse for their building? Or should we "look into the opposite direction" and consider the building activity as protective measure, as setting up a kind of "guard house"?

Giving up the residence of the earthly elite implies, according to our hypothesis, the abandonment of the institution that resided in this building.

If that was the case, further questions arise: If the institution of the earthly elite was relinquished, where had the actual representatives of the elite then gone? And how did the organization of the settlement work after this change, how was the social and political life at Kamid el-Loz regulated at the time, when this break with the local political and social order and tradition, habit or practice occurred? Finally, yet importantly, in general, was this kind of an "irregular" utilization of a former high status area accepted? And if so, by whom – resp. who had not accepted this functional transformation? This question came up because the fate of the small residential house was in the end the same as that of the palace itself – it fell victim to a destructive fire.

7.2 The administrative area: Used for domestic activities and transformed into a burial place

The administrative building, which was also burned and allowed to decay, was first turned into another area of household activities, as the *tannour,* installed on top of the burnt brick rubble, demonstrated.

Later, a child entombed in a clay vessel was buried adjacent to the *tannour*. The users thus once again retained the habit of keeping their deceased in the immediate neighborhood of their homes.

▼ Fig. 136: Overview of the administrative area. Source: Archive Heinz.





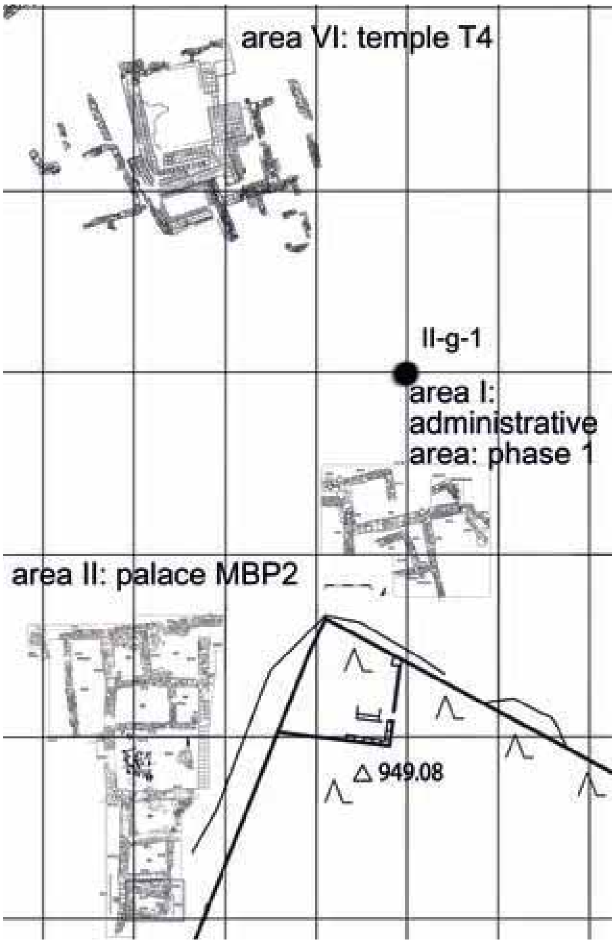
◄ Fig. 137: The burial in the administrative area. Source: Archive Heinz.

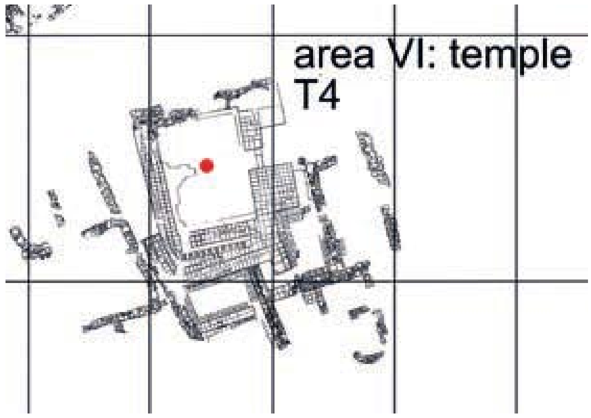
▼ Fig. 138: Detail of the burial in the administrative area. Source: Archive Heinz.



7.3 The temple T 4: Transformed into a secular area by the use of its ruins?

The temple did not burn down, but the area was left open and allowed to decay. Nevertheless, people continued to use a stone installation of this former iconic building – for what reason, cultic or secular, is a still open question (see chapter 7.5.1).



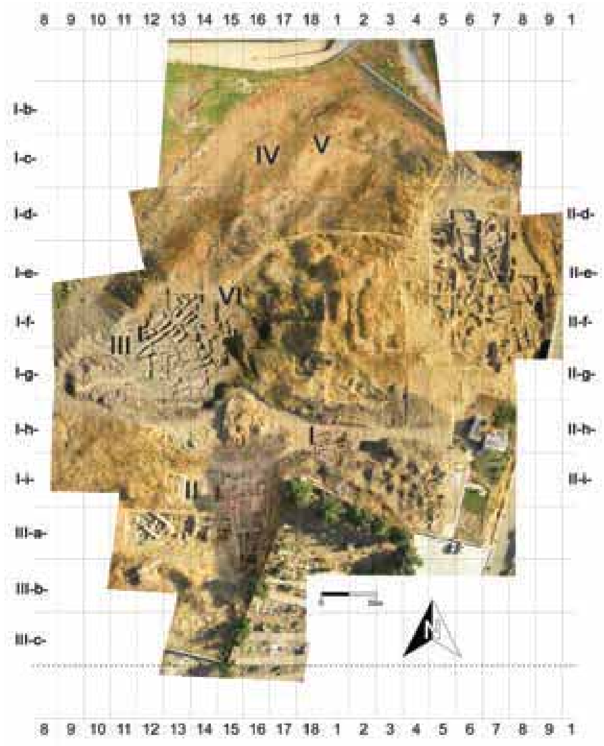


◄▲ Figs 139, 140: Temple T 4, its location and in detail the house type. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 15.

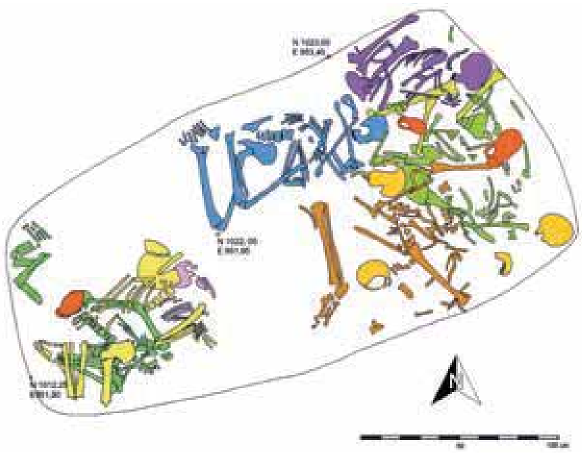
7.4 The residential areas: No attestation of activities in the northern area, but evidence for burying the deceased into the deteriorated architectural remains in the west

Both of the residential areas (see chapter 6.1.3; figs 112 – 113 and 118 – 119) were given up and permitted to decay. So far do we not yet have any information on what happened to the decaying houses in the northern area. However, the western residential area was used for the interment of, or shall we rather say, for hastily burying several dead?

At least ten individuals, adults and children, were buried or rather thrown into a pit that had been dug in the midst of the decayed remains of the MBA II houses. At least two of the buried individuals show severe physical injuries. Whether these injuries led to their death or were post-mortem mutilations, is currently being examined. The discovery of this mass grave located in







the abandoned settlement again raises the question of what the destruction of the second MBA II city of Kamid el-Loz resulted in and who the people were that were involved in or affected by this event. Was the burying of the ten individuals connected to the burning and the following abandonment of the city? Or had something else happened that led to the death of these individuals? What caused their

◄▲ Figs 141, 142: Site overview and the residential area west. Source: Archive Heinz.

◄ Fig. 143: Drawing of death pit in the western residential area, house A, area I-f-14. Source: Archive Heinz.



◄ Fig. 144: The death pit in the western residential area, house A, area I-f-14. Source: Archive Heinz.

deaths? Who were the dead – inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz? Who buried them, or, as we assume, rather threw them into the pit?

7.5 Life in devastated surroundings: How did the people deal with the situation?

The end of urban life at Kamid el-Loz did not involve the full abandonment of the site, neither during the first nor during the second phase of anomie. People, whether former settlers or newcomers, in fact used the ruins and lived there temporarily. It is this setting up a life in the ruins of a once flourishing city, now obviously void of any functioning infrastructure, that leads to another set of questions. We are currently working on why people remained in – or came to – the abandoned settlement. On the other hand, we are studying how people arranged their life under these circumstances: did they invent new modes of living, adapt the familiar habits, rules, and regulations to the new circumstances, or rather adhere to the local traditions?

In both phases of anomie the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz experienced a disastrous situation. Disaster means, according to the definition of C.E. Fritz, quoted by Michael Lindell (2011: 1), that a society "undergoes physical harm and social disruption, such that all or some essential functions of the society or subdivision are impaired." "Physical harm and social disruption," according to G.A. Kreps, quoted again by M. Lindell (2011: 2), "[…] occur because the event exceeds normal protections." A disaster potentially entails the physical vulnerability of people as well as of the economic, political, and social structure. In case of disasters, people thus are exposed to physical violence, injuries, illness, and death. The regular subsistence economy and "politics as usual" are interrupted; houses and the infrastructure are destroyed. The built environment becomes unsuitable, at least in the traditional ways, and people have to find emergency solutions not only to find shelter but also to survive. The social order of a once everyday life is dissolved, the once familiar organization of the community is no longer in existence, and the traditional knowledge, skills, and abilities are no longer unrestricted, valid, and helpful. A disaster thus affects the entirety of the community, all members of the city, irrespective of their age, gender, status, roles, functions, or origins. All previous rules of social interaction, the entire political order as well as the totality of its material heritage, are invalidated. The question now is what the consequences of the disaster were. Who had to bear these consequences, and how did the persons concerned react to the event? The traditional community's organization was suspended, the social order of the former everyday life dissolved, and all survivors were on their own to find solutions to continue living. According to the archaeological record, most, but not all, of the inhabitants left the city – after both the first and the second burning of Kamid el-Loz. It is the second phase of anomie that we will consider below in detail.

7.5.1 The second anomie: Solutions found for survival

The post-disaster use of the administrative and palace area illustrates the emergency solutions and the efforts of people to improvise and to adapt to the results of violence and social devastation. In the administrative area, peo-

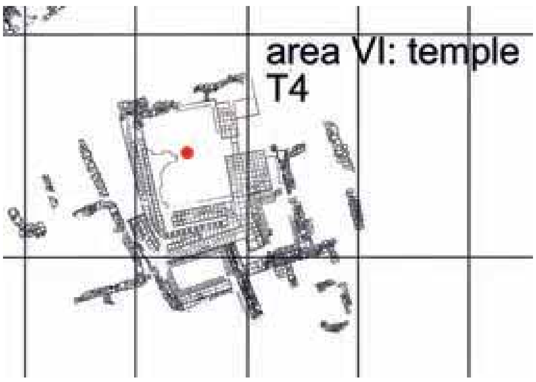
ple leveled the burnt rubble and then set up the *tannour* on the deserted property. A *tannour* can be built quickly and easily; the builders thus implemented traditional everyday knowledge and skills to make food preparation possible in a possibly spontaneously selected location. At the same time, the once prevailing codes of behavior were no longer in force. People's basic needs for survival caused them to transform the former administrative building into a temporary emergency shelter.



▲ Fig. 145: The small house built on top of the former palace MBP 2. Source: Archive Heinz.

The literal function of the palace was given up as well, when people raised the small residential building on its burned rubble. Traditional values, norms, and rules, so my interpretation, were then abrogated. The users converted this former habitat and symbol of power, now obviously void of its previous aura, into an area of temporary housing. The construction of a small house in the abandoned city suggests an even more extensive effort of the people to meet the challenges that surviving in an almost empty city pose, and the endeavor to reestablish a kind of normal routine in a state of emergency.

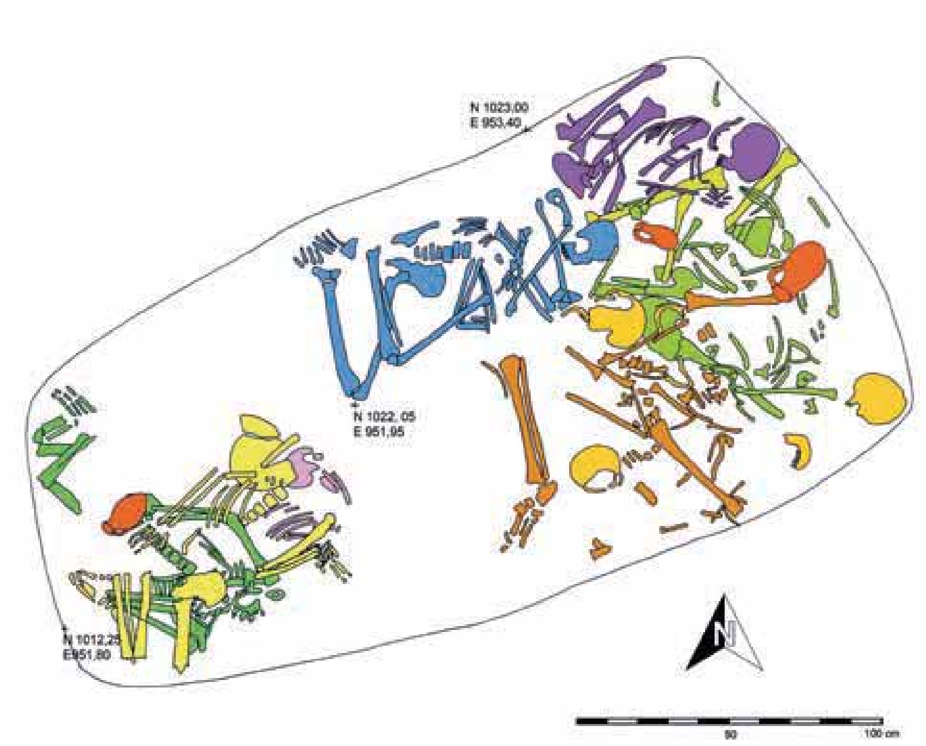
The official function of the temple also ceased when the building was abandoned, while, as mentioned above, a stone installation was still in use as a fireplace. We can think about two different explanations with regard to the activities that took place here. Both explanations would have different implications for understanding what happened concerning the local traditions, the aura of the building, and the retaining or the giving up of traditional habits in times of anomie and disaster. One may see therein the continuation of ritual acts. We would not exclude the possibility, however, that the installation, potentially suitable as cooking facility, was used in exactly this (profane) way. Such a use would present another adaptation to the circumstances – the secularization of a former cult place, now a decayed area, and thus a further emergency solution to ensure survival in a city that no longer possessed any functioning utility services.



◄ Fig. 146: Interim use of the former temple T 4. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 15.

The northern residential area had obviously been given up entirely. There were no signs of any temporary use of this decaying area. Quite different was the situation in the west. People used the rubble of the abandoned houses to perform a funeral, or, as suggested above, they dug a pit and threw into it the bodily remains of ten individuals, children as well as adults. At least two adults suffered from violently inflicted injuries. One skeleton still had a spearhead between the ribs, and the skull of another individual was perforated with three holes.

Funerals were also performed both in the administrative area, where the people buried a child in a vessel, and adjacent to the *tannour*. In addition, the



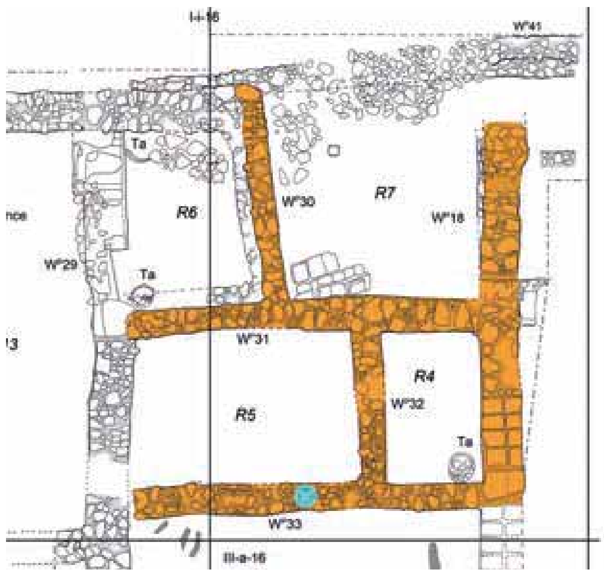
► Fig. 147: The death pit in the western residential area. Source: Archive Heinz.

occupants of the small house, set up on top of the former palace, placed the bodily remains of an infant into a recess in the southern wall of this structure.

To bury the dead close to the sphere of the living was a tradition already practiced during the early MBA II urban development of Kamid el-Loz. To keep the deceased children, in these times of anomie and disaster, close to the living should be seen as a further step to adapt irregular life circumstances to former practices – and thus as a further effort to reorganize a kind of normality. The interment of the ten individuals in a pit, however, is not a custom known before at Kamid el-Loz. As we said in the beginning in case of disasters, people are exposed to physical violence, injuries, and death. This all applies to the deceased in the pit – as well, figuratively, to the burial practice. Although further studies still need to be done, it is tempting

▼ Figs 148, 149: The burials in the administrative area (left) and in the small house on top of the former palace (right). Source: Archive Heinz.





to see here on the one hand victims of the violence against the people of Kamid el-Loz and on the other hand the attempt of the survivors to adhere in a way to former local traditions – that is, first, to bury the dead in spite of the chaos; second, to comply, especially in times of anomie, with the custom of keeping the dead in the former living environment.
The social consequences of a disaster for the people are clear: It resulted in uprooting, in being without a place where one belonged to, and in the dissolution of all traditional social bonds, rules, and regulations – including the loss of the roles and functions of the former elite. A small group of people who stayed in the devastated surrounding managed to live in the disturbed and abandoned city, and they proceeded to achieve a kind of normality or at least a secured life – obviously without the support of any ruling elites. According to our interpretation we see the efforts of "ordinary" people who not only organized their daily survival, but ensured the *sine qua non* for having a future at all by perpetuating the care for their deceased in the traditional manner.
Studying phases of anomie and the results of disastrous events shows us on the one hand the dark side of history. On the other hand, this research illustrates that we can understand the functioning of society and thus of history only when we critically analyze the actions of ALL members of a community and when we critically assess whose decisions in a community result in what consequences – and who has to bear these consequences. It is this approach to archaeological research that has the potential to widen traditional historiography and to ask "whose history" mainstream historiography is usually presenting. Such an archaeological approach to history will encourage inquirers to consequently connect archaeological research with the critical theory as developed by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (see Horkheimer 1970, 1992). They convincingly argue that affirmative research in social and historical sciences that aims only to describe what the living conditions were resp. are should be abandoned for critical reflections on why a social order is as it is and thus why people live under the prevailing living conditions, as we do today and they did in the past!

The second anomie (post-city 2 development, ended about 1550/1500 B.C.):
A short summary in table form

Period	**Evidence**					
2nd anomie	death pit **west of the temple area**	- **trench 2 west of the palace area**	small house and burial in the wall **palace area**	*tannour* and child-burial **administrative area**	refuse of an installation **temple area**	- **residential area north**
Later MBA II	pottery, walls **trench 1 west of the temple area**	pottery **trench 2 west of the palace area**	architecture and pottery **palace MBP 2**	architecture and pottery **administrative area, phase 1**	architecture and pottery **temple area temple T 4** architecture and pottery **temple area temple T 5**	architecture, house no. 2 and fortification **residential area north, building period 6, building level 14** architecture, house no. 1 and pathway **residential area north, building period 6, building level 16**
1st anomie	- **trench 1 west of the temple area**	- **trench 2 west of the palace area**	- **palace area**	- **administrative area**	wall structures, fireplaces, a stone built cist grave **temple area**	graves dug into the abandoned houses of building period 7, building level 17; 7 adults, 18 children **residential area north**

Period	Evidence					
Early MBA II	pottery **trench 1 west of the temple area**	pottery **trench 2 west of the palace area**	architecture and pottery **palace MBP 3**	burnt bricks and pottery **administrative area, phase 2**	burnt bricks and pottery **temple area "temple T 6"**	rooms and fortification, pottery, two burials (nos 96 and 113) **residential area north, building period 7, building levels 20-17**
MBA I	pottery **trench 1**	pottery **trench 2**	trodden floor **trench 5 III-a-16** pottery **trench 3**	pottery **trench 4**	-	courtyard house **residential area north, building period 8, building level 21**

Further Reading:
I. Administrative area
BAAL 15, 2011: 51ff.

II. Palace area
BAAL 14, 2010: 79ff.
BAAL 15, 2011: 42ff.

III. Residential area west
BAAL H.S.VII, 2010: 117ff.
BAAL 15, 2011: 56ff.

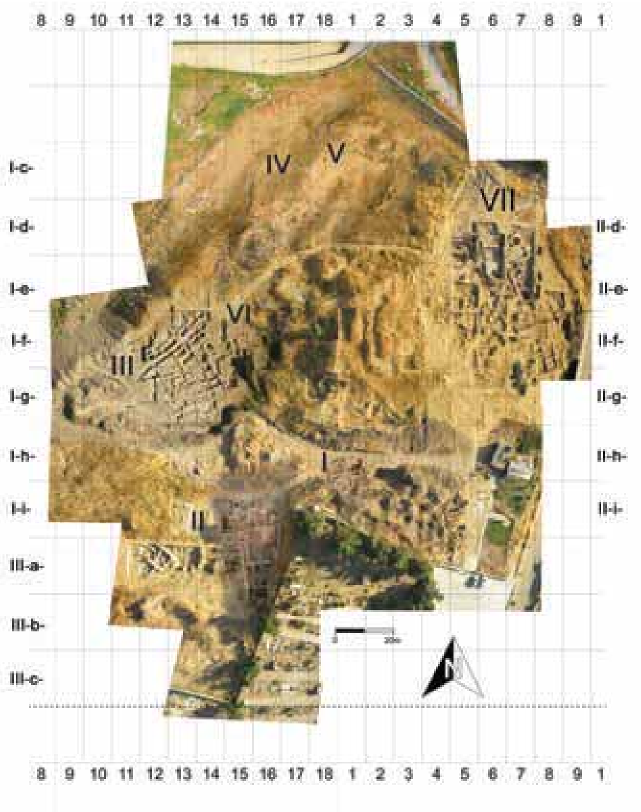
IV. Residential area north
Hachmann, 1989: 62ff.
Echt, 1984: 55ff.

VI. Temple area
Metzger, 2012.

8. The third – and the last – city of Kamid el-Loz, then named *Kumidi*

Emerged at the onset of the Late Bronze Age and lasted until the end of the Late Bronze Age (LBA I – LBA II c. 1550/1500 B.C. – 1200 B.C.)

Middle Bronze Age I	Early Middle Bronze Age II	Late phase and end of Middle Bronze Age II	Late Bronze Age I	Late Bronze Age II
2000 – 1750 B.C.	1750 – ...? B.C. city 1 anomie1	?... – 1550/1500 B.C. city 2 anomie 2	1550/1500 – 1400/1350 B.C. establishment of city 3, named *Kumidi*	1400/1350 – 1200 B.C. end of city 3 and termination of urban life at Kamid el-Loz



◄ Fig. 150: Overview over the site. Source: Archive Heinz.

Around 1500 B.C., the second anomie of Kamid el-Loz ended. Reurbanization began once again, and this time it was for the last time at Kamid el-Loz. Those who established the new city, either those who survived the disaster and remained in Kamid el-Loz, returnees, or newcomers – or people of all three groups together – rebuilt the city in the same way as the previous occupants had done before repeatedly throughout the history of Kamid el-Loz. Once again they built over the older constructions and restored, for the most part, the former urban spatial design, and once again they introduced some innovations and accomplished changes as well. The builders restored the palace, the temple, and the western and northern residential areas in their traditional locations. The palace was then, at its western side, structurally connected to the defensive wall. Fortification of the city was not unexpected; the location of this defensive measure close to the palace,

however, was new. At the same time, another functional change already initiated by the users of the first LBA palace, P 5, led to a formal innovation. The former (MBA II) administrative area no longer functioned as such; the area was used instead for a metal processing workshop serving the palace, which was then later given up in favor of the famous burial site of palace P 4d, the "*Schatzhaus,*", so-called by the excavators on grounds of the great many objects found in this burial site.

8.1 The story and history of the third and last city of Kamid el-Loz: 300 years of uninterrupted urban life, despite destructions, disastrous fires, and decay – a short preview

The inhabitants of the two MBA II cities experienced destructions, disastrous fires, and the decay of their domiciles. Twice, urban life came to a halt during the Middle Bronze Age II period. Twice, anomie affected Kamid el-Loz and prompted the majority of the survivors to leave their homes; only a few tried to live on in the ruins, according to our interpretation of the MBA II architectural remains and of approximately 250 years of settlement history at Kamid el-Loz.

Destructions, disastrous fires, and decay also affected the architecture of, and thus the people living in the Late Bronze Age city of *Kumidi*, the place-name at the time as texts from Egypt and Kamid el-Loz attest (see Hachmann et alii, 1983: 28). The palace alone had to be built or rebuilt four times, and three temple buildings were set up consecutively. When the major representative buildings of the city were intermittently out of order, however, neither had urban life come to a halt nor had people en masse left their residential areas, according to our understanding of the excavation reports written by our colleagues from the University of Saarbrücken.

According to the observations made for the Middle Bronze Age urban history as well as for the Late Bronze Age development, the respective inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz reacted very differently to the destructions, disastrous fires, and symptoms of decline of their homes. Unlike the former urban dwellers of Kamid el-Loz, the inhabitants of *Kumidi* must have had measures at their disposal to handle the disruptions to their daily life without needing to give up their residences, abandon their urban mode of life, and leave the city. The outcome was about 300 years of continuous urban life.

To investigate very comprehensively why the responses should have been so different is one of the major subjects of our current research.

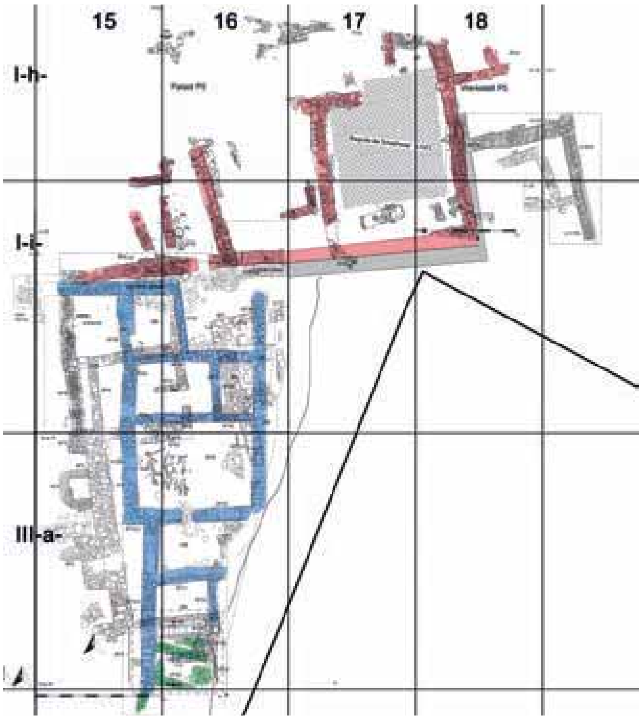
8.2 The first LBA palace, P 5, arose: A worldly elite was visibly back (LBA I c. 1550/1500 – 1400/1350 B.C.)

The resettlement of Kamid el-Loz began – and as so many times before, the new builders again started with the clearing of the building ground. Again, they initiated the construction of the new palace by removing and leveling the burnt remains of both the small house (also named MBP 1, see chapter 4.1.1), built on top of the palace MBP 2 during the second phase of anomie, and the palace itself. Although the palace building remained on the

same spot as its forerunners, did the new demands of its users lead to a new form and a slightly different orientation in space as well as the setting up of a new wing that served the new requirements of the palace residents – the metal processing workshop (see figs 151 – 152).

Palace P 5 (figs 152 – 153, color-coded red) was the first in a series of four additional buildings that were to be built during the life of the Late Bronze Age city of *Kumidi*. In addition, just to remind the reader, archaeologists label buildings according to the sequence in which they excavate them. The youngest LBA palace, excavated first and built last, is thus numbered P 1. The oldest palace, built first and excavated last, is numbered P 5!





▼ Figs 151, 152: The palace-workshop habitat, palace P 5. Sources: Archive Heinz, Adler 1994: Tafel 51; Adler/Penner 1991: Planum 1.

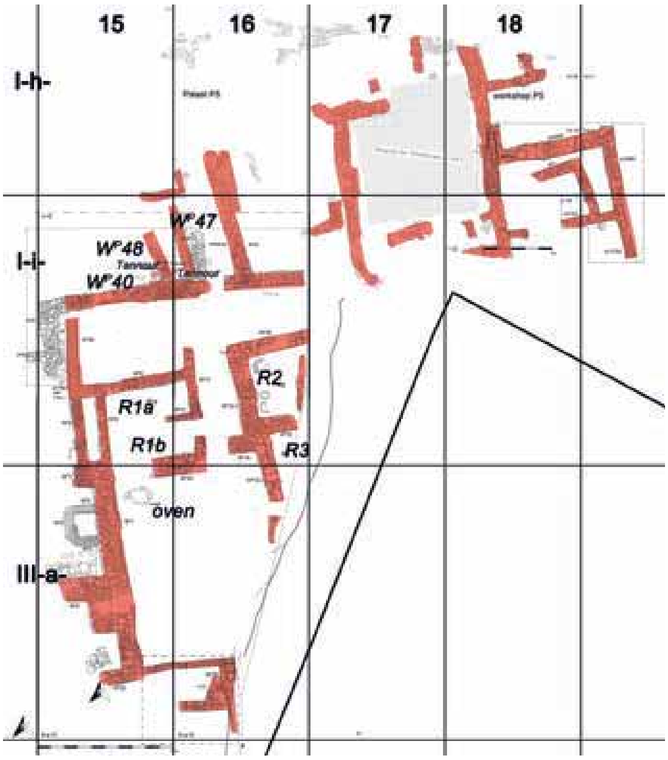
8.2.1 The former palace district had not lost its aura: The new palace P 5 was built on the burnt remains of its MBA forerunner

When constructing palace P 5, the builders followed former or traditional guidelines and incorporated at the same time the requirements of its new users. The new palace reoccupied the traditional palace site. By making this decision, those responsible for the rebuilding decided to keep the former spatial design of Kamid el-Loz as well. The builders must have known the story of the habitat, and if not the whole story, at least the fate of palace P 5's predecessor.

While clearing away and leveling the burnt rubble, they came upon older walls of the former building which they integrated into the new structure wherever possible. They also utilized the proven construction method and used the traditional building materials – stone, brick, and wood. The building, however, also had to satisfy new requirements, which called for innovations to the previous construction. The builders designed the ground floor of the palace according to the new functions as well as to the new needs and practices of working in and moving through the palace.

The main innovation that the builders or the users of this habitat considered necessary was the construction of the workshop area, consisting of a walled

► Fig. 153: Palace P 5 and the metal workshop area. Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler 1994: Tafel 51.

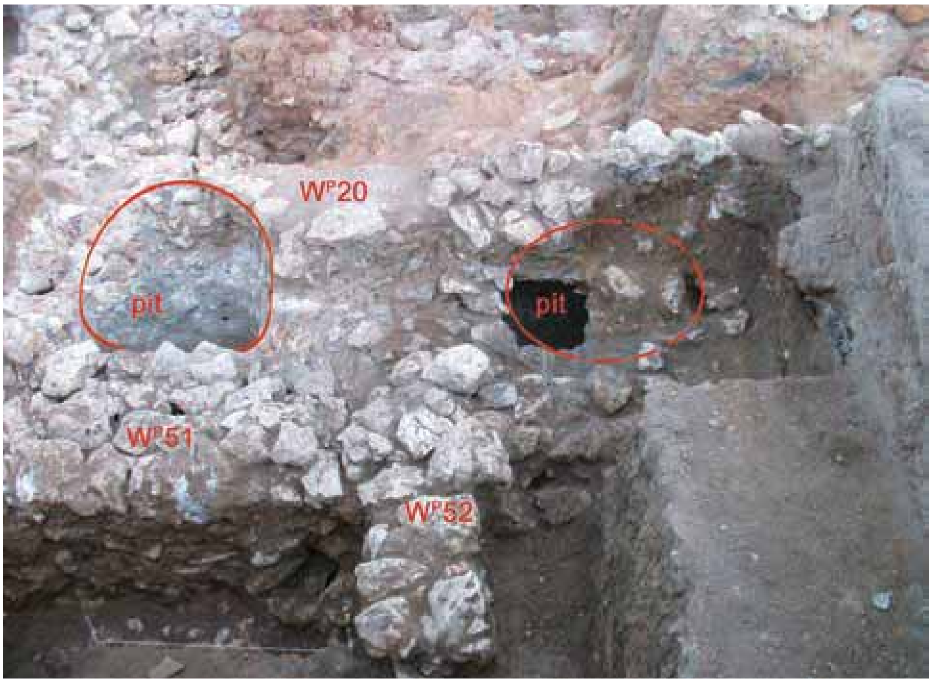


courtyard of more than 100m^2 and an adjacent open area immediately to the east, an alteration of the palace area that was visible to everybody from afar.

As a reminder, the space now used by the artisans was once, so my current interpretation, the location of the MBA II city's administration.

Installations of different kinds (see below for a detailed presentation) and the finding of remains of ash and slag led the excavators to conclusively designate this area as a metal processing workshop area. For the first time in the utilization history of the palaces of Kamid el-Loz, the seat of the political elite and a craft workshop area were set up in the same neighborhood, and moreover, both buildings were structurally connected to each other. Although the entire layout of both buildings will not be accessible to us, due to the fact that the modern cemetery is built over the eastern part of this habitat, we gained a variety of insights into the design, functions of, and activities carried out in the northern part of this complex:

The users of the palace entered the building through an entrance inserted into the northern side of palace P 5 (see fig. 153). From there, the users and visitors entered a hallway, which opened first into a transverse space and ran then between two enfilades, rooms 1a and 1b to the west and rooms 2 and 3 to the east. Both rooms 1a and 1b were accessible from the corridor, while the approach to the eastern rooms 2 and 3 must be located in another, still unexcavated part of the building, either in the eastern or southern tract of the palace. The corridor opens out into a large courtyard, the most southern part of the palace that we know so far. When users entered the palace via the northern entrance, the location and design of the entrance as well as the course of the passageway through the palace allowed them rather unhindered views into the building. The design of the access and the passageway thus give the impression that ensuring visibility and ease of navigation through this part of the palace were the needs of the users. Further needs of the occupants, functions of the building, and activities performed by the users are indicated by several installations that the builders had set up in diverse parts of the building. *Tannours* were placed in the northwestern spandrel between walls w^{P}40 and w^{P}48 as well as between w^{P}47 and w^{P}48, and a large oven was installed in the northwestern corner of the central courtyard. Both facilities suggest household activities. In addition, the users set up



◄ Fig. 154: The pits between wall w^P 20 and wall w^P 51. Source: Archive Heinz.

three further installations that still surprise us and whose use and functions we cannot yet fully explain. Three pits were carved into the western side of wall w^{P}20 (two pits to be seen in fig. 154). These pits, about 50cm wide and plastered with a whitish chalky substance, contained collections of broken pottery; the pit on the right hand side (fig. 154) was full of potsherds.

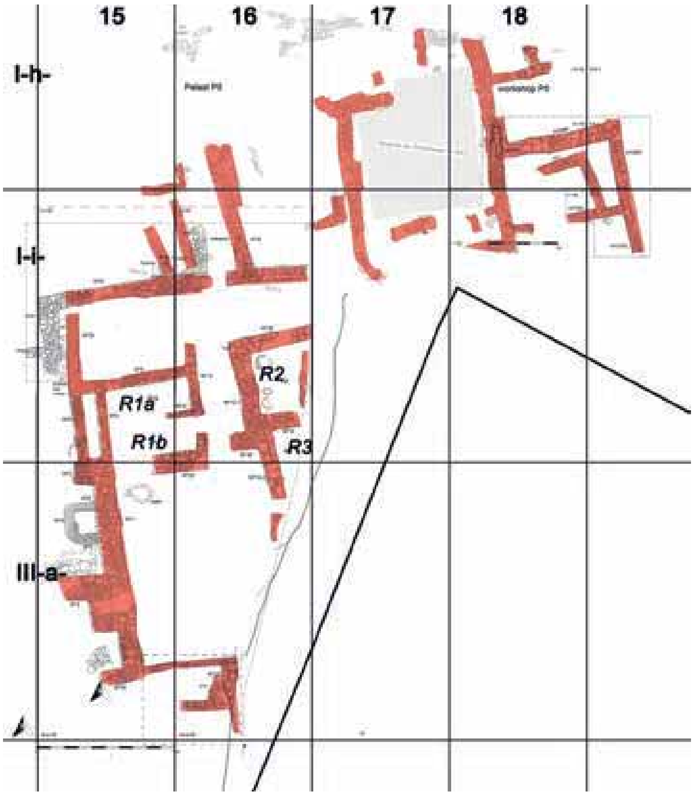
When we put the approximately 1600 fragments together, we dis-covered that the pots were all complete and that the last-mentioned pit contained 45 vessels. We cannot yet clarify the reason and possibly the ritual that led to this situation. What we can say so far is that we are currently studying the pots and we wonder if all 45 vessels would have fit into the pit if the actors had not broken them before the deposition.

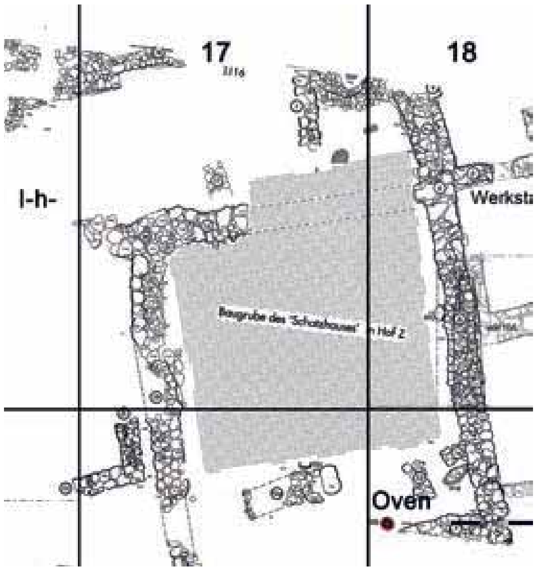
Palace P 5, the first palace built at the outset of the Late Bronze Age, was solidly built and based on the burnt remains of the older MBA II structures. The builders of palace P 5 thus must have known the fate of the area. The sturdy construction of the building, however, did not prevent palace P 5 from suffering the same fate as the previous palaces and structures on the location: the main building burned down and collapsed. The workshop area, however, interestingly enough since the people there were working with an open fire, did not fall victim to the blaze. It was simply given up and allowed to decay, as the thick layer of unburnt rubble attests.

8.2.2 Metal processing was obviously an exclusive handicraft at that time: The only known workshop was located in the area of palace P 5

An oven, a pit, ashes, slag, and a *tannour* as well as work areas provided evidence to identify the courtyard and the area immediately to its east as a metal processing workshop.

While palace P 5 remained more or less unchanged in form throughout its life, the needs of the craftsmen required a continuous remodeling of the open space east of the courtyard. Smaller rooms were enclosed from the open area; interior walls were built and again removed, probably to separate

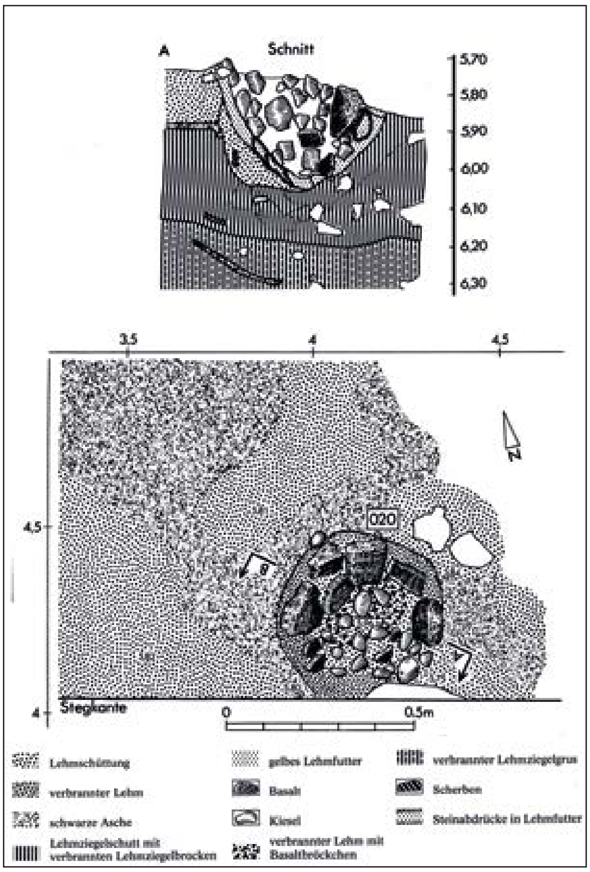




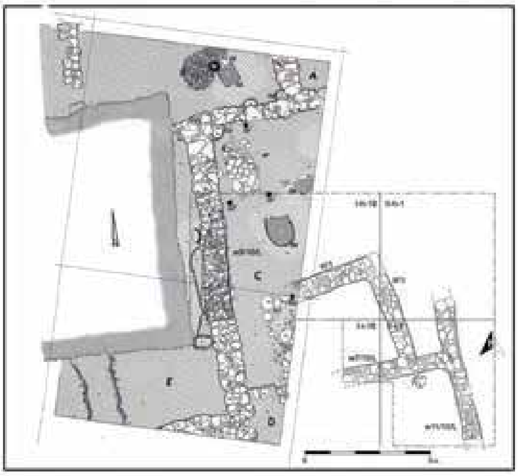
◄▲ Figs 155, 156: The metal workshop, part of palace P5. Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler 1994: Tafel 51.

▼► Figs 157, 158: Oven 020 in the workshop area. Sources: Archive Heinz; Frisch 1985: 48, Tafel 4, Tafel 43.





work areas from each other and to protect the workers from heat, fire, and sparks.



▲ Fig. 159: The workshop area and one of its modified layouts. Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler 1994: Tafel 51; Frisch 1985: Tafel 1.

Excursus: Some reflections concerning the needs of elites: The functions of palaces

The existence of a metal processing workshop enables us to gain some specific insights into the communal life of *Kumidi*. Obviously, the settlers had the knowledge about where to go to get the needed raw materials – locally there was none available! Furthermore, there were people present locally who knew how to process the raw materials, how to produce metal objects, and how to build ovens strong enough to generate the temperature necessary for the melting process. In addition, the people of *Kumidi* must have had access to the required fuel. Besides the knowledge about where to obtain and how to work with metal, they had the means necessary not only to import the required materials but also to locally own the metal objects, as the finds excavated in *Kumidi* proved. When reflecting on the effort needed to produce a metal object – specialists were essential both to acquire and to handle the raw materials – one wonders if everybody in *Kumidi* had had access to metal objects, whether cutlery and household goods, or tools and weapons. In our future studies on Kamid el-Loz, we will deal with this question extensively and analyze, on the basis of inventories and their distribution, who among those living in Late Bronze Age *Kumidi* owned such goods. It goes without saying that we should expect, and indeed can identify the local elites – those of the temple and palace institutions – as being among those who owned these precious objects. Furthermore, since the palace was otherwise segregated from the city and its residential areas and thus from the daily life in the city, we would not be wrong in assuming that the close spatial proximity of the workshop and the palace might also have symbolized a specific relationship that connected the profession of the metalworking craft and the palace elite. Moreover, we believe that it was most likely the palace who controlled the process of the acquisition, manufacture, and the distribution of the most valuable raw material – the metal!

8.3 Palace P 4: A short overview over its utilization and building history, or, once again creating the new but keeping traditions alive as well! (Later LBA I c. 1550/1500 – 1400/1350 B.C.)

Palace P 4, attested in four building phases – P 4d, c, b, and a – was in several respects a distinct building among all the palaces of Kamid el-Loz (fig. 160, color-coded yellow). It was unique in its design and in one of its functions – namely, in its utilization as burial place for members of the elite. The incorporation of this function into the palace habitat went hand in hand with an unparalleled mode of construction: the building used for the burials (the so-called "*Schatzhaus*") was constructed – the only one of its kind at Kamid el-Loz – as a subterranean structure. Another feature was as well unprec-

edented: Only the administration of palace P 4 made use of cuneiform texts, written (on clay tablets) in Akkadian and reporting about political issues at the time. Older conventions were however also pursued. The builders continued the local tradition when they set up palace P 4 directly on top of the burnt remnants of palace P 5. They retained the old custom of placing the palace in its original location and in addition used the traditional building materials and techniques. At the same time, however, they, as their predecessors did before them, changed the building's form and thus brought about something new.

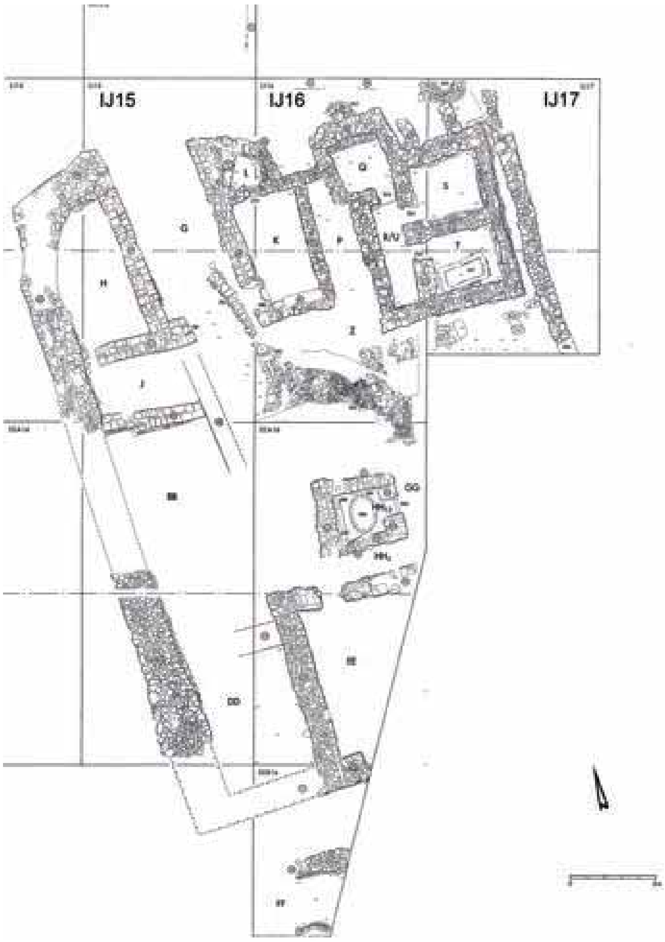


► Fig. 160: Palace P 4 overbuilding palace P 5. Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler 1994: Tafel 51; Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 2.

Excursus: Maintaining the old and allowing the new: Some reflections on the interaction of the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz with the local traditions and their new needs when rebuilding the palace!

In the course of our excavations, we observed the following: The palace and the temple were destroyed and abandoned many times during the *ca.*550 years of urban development at Kamid el-Loz. After every destruction and abandonment of the iconic buildings, the settlers rebuilt the palace and the temple, in each case in their original habitat. At the same time, they changed the form of the respective buildings, thus making the new highly visible at the traditional site. Obviously, throughout the existence of urban Kamid el-Loz, it was the rule to maintain the traditional layout of the built environment, while the buildings' forms and types were not strictly bound to the past. The idea of the "right layout" was obviously interwoven with the location and the arrangement of the buildings, not with the buildings' external appearance. It was this modus operandi that allowed each new set of users to construct buildings that satisfied their own needs and demands. At the same time, it enabled those responsible for the rebuilding to demonstrate their connectedness with, and their thoughtfulness toward the local traditions. Research in the social sciences has documented the effectiveness of this practice. People, whether today or in the past, accept the new more easily when it is connected to and does not just replace the known and the familiar. Why, however, a new form was at all necessary each time is one of the questions we are currently working on.

8.3.1 Palace P 4d – c – b – a: The silhouette of the building remained more or less the same, regardless of the modifications that the users carried out and that affected primarily the interior design of the palace



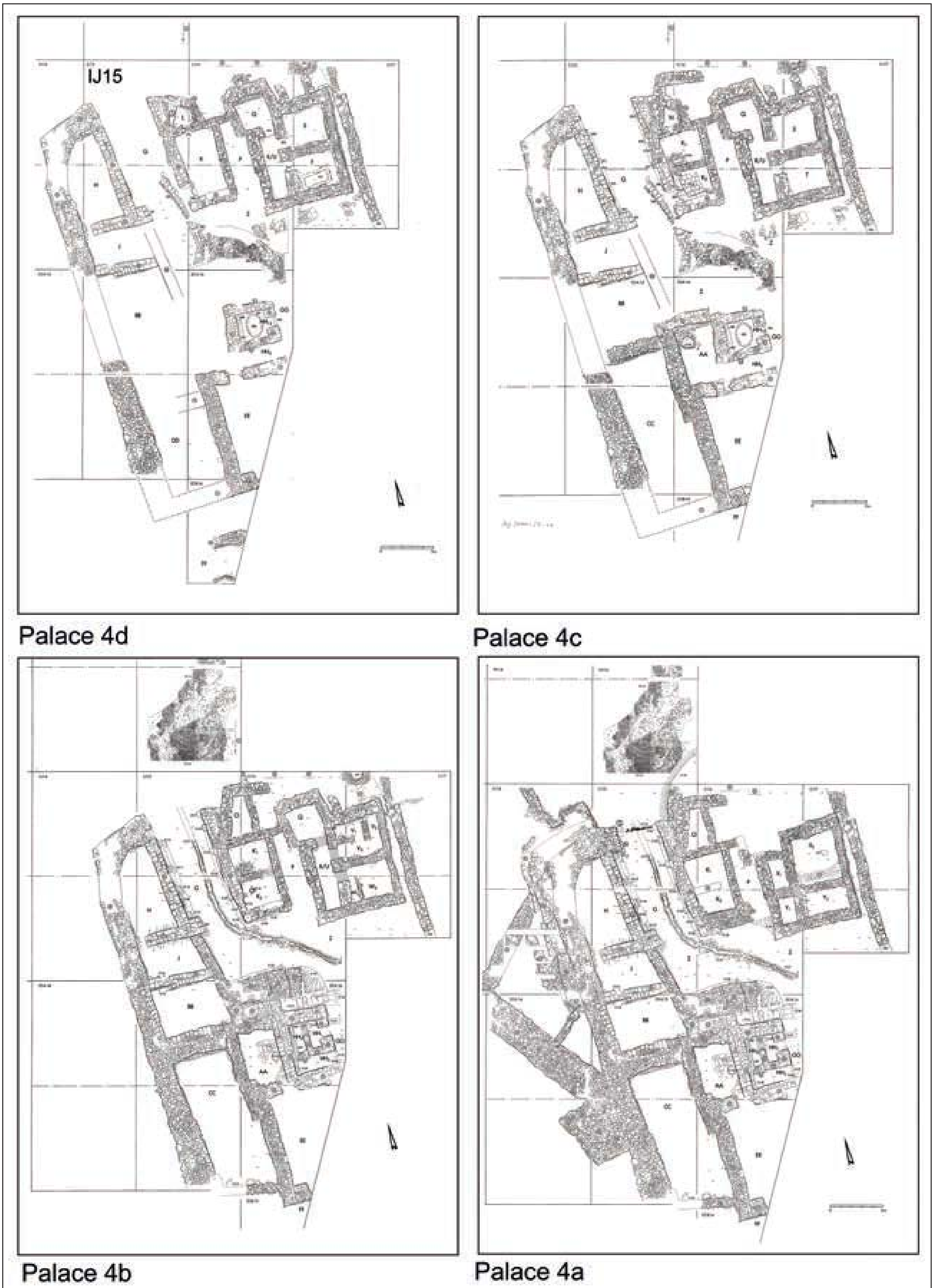
◄ Fig. 161: The silhouette of palace P 4, including the "Schatzhaus" building. Source: Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 2.

Palace P 4, in the given state of preservation, consisted of a western wing, subdivided into at least four rooms. The western wall of this section formed the western outer side of the palace. On its eastern side, two more rooms and a floor were preserved. Adjoining to these stood the building used for the burials, the so-called *"Schatzhaus."* Parallel to the eastern outer wall of the *"Schatzhaus,"* the eastern wall of the former metal processing courtyard was preserved. Between the western and the eastern sections of the palace, a broad passageway runs from north to south. This passage led into a courtyard that formed a central part of this portion of the building. The courtyard was itself limited in the south by a (partially maintained) room, accessible from the courtyard through the entrance in its northern wall.

It was this structure that established the silhouette of palace P 4 and that remained more or less the same throughout the entire utilization history of the palace. The formal and the functional changes that the users made (phases P 4d, P 4c, P 4b and P 4a) concerned the interior design of the building, the sizes and forms of rooms, the location and design of stairways, the set up and removal of installations, the activities performed, and the functions attributed to the palace over the years.

8.3.2 Palace P 4d – c – b – a: The interior design modifications

Over the course of time, the requirements of the users and residents of palace P 4 changed a number of times. These changes made it necessary to alter the inner structure of the palace several times. Rooms were enlarged, reduced in size, or even given up; entrances were shifted; staircases were repaired, renewed, and had additional steps added; and installations were put



▲ Fig. 162: The interior design modifications of palace P4. Source: Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 2, 3, 5, and 6.

in as well as removed. Altogether, four phases of construction were detected and named accordingly by the excavators (see fig. 162). The beginning or the oldest utilization phase of palace P 4 is called phase P 4d, followed by phases P 4c, P 4b, and P 4a, the most recent and last state of palace P 4. We cannot identify in every case the kind of needs that made these modifications necessary. One formal innovation, however, highly visible and clearly connected to an identifiable shift in the users' needs was implemented right at the beginning of the utilization of palace P 4, in phase P 4d. (For details, see below, chapters 8.3.3ff.) The metal processing workshop, or, more precisely, the large courtyard, belonging to and forming a structural part of palace P 5, was given up. Metal processing, however, was not entirely abandoned. It was now practiced solely in the open area east of the former courtyard.

The area of the courtyard itself had been functionally and formally transformed by the users into the previously mentioned burial site, the so-called "*Schatzhaus*".

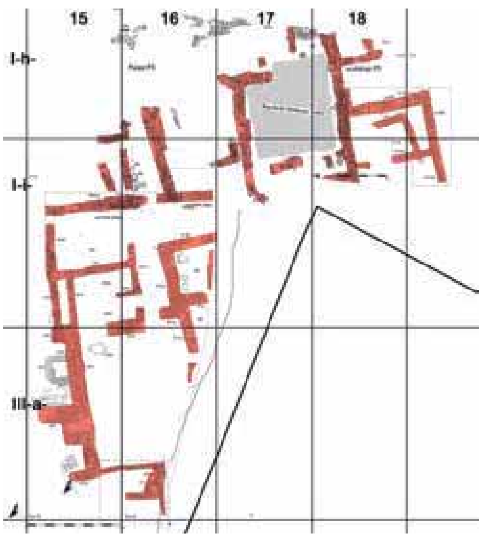
8.3.3 The construction of Palace P 4d: An extraordinary building among all the palaces of Kamid el-Loz

The builders of palace P 4d erected the major part of this building on top of the burnt rubble of its predecessor, palace P 5. The western wing, rooms H, J, BB, and DD served as a place for household activities, among others, as *tannours* herein indicate; the courtyard Z/HH was a passageway in this part of the palace, not only in the horizontal direction but also in the vertical, as staircase HH1-2 signals. This staircase led either to a second floor or to the rooftop of the palace P 4d. From courtyard Z/HH, one reached the southern room EE, while entrance to the courtyard was from the north via hallway G. Hallway G led also to the eastern part of the courtyard (area Z), from where visitors, users, and residents reached the small corridor P and the small rooms K and L west of it.

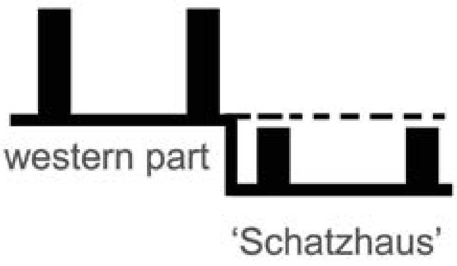
8.3.4 The so-called "Schatzhaus": In the history of the palace buildings of Kamid el-Loz, it was a building with a unique construction method: It was not built on top of the older burnt remains but set up as an underground structure

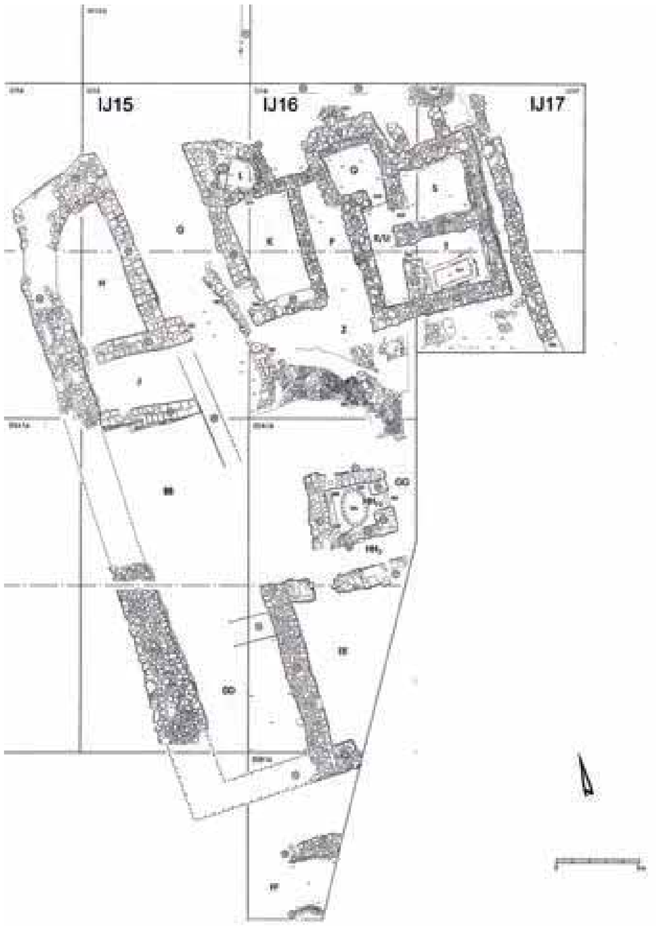
The metal craftsmen, during the period of palace P 5, at one point were working in a large open courtyard area located immediately east of the palace and structurally connected to P 5. In the course of building palace P 4d, the new builders excavated a deep pit in this courtyard area, which served as the location for the new and unique underground structure, the "*Schatzhaus*" (Adler 1994: 126-128).

That is, palace P 4d consisted of an aboveground western part and



◄ Fig. 163: Palace P 5 and the workshop area or the courtyard. Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler 1994, Tafel 51.





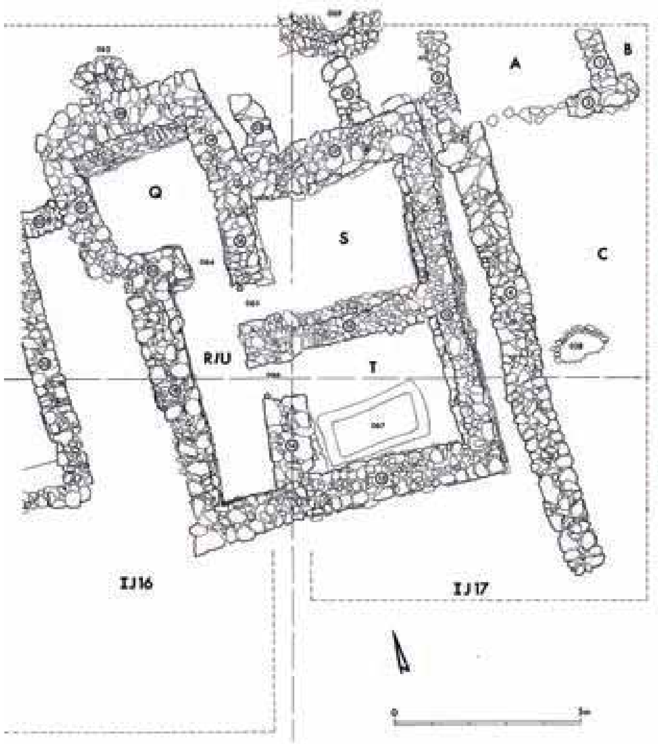
▲► Figs 164-165: Palace P 4d (right) and the sketch, illustrating the vertical building layout (above). Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 2; Mansfeld 2013: 244ff.

the underground "*Schatzhaus*" building to the east. The sketch (not drawn to scale), illustrates this specific mode of construction.

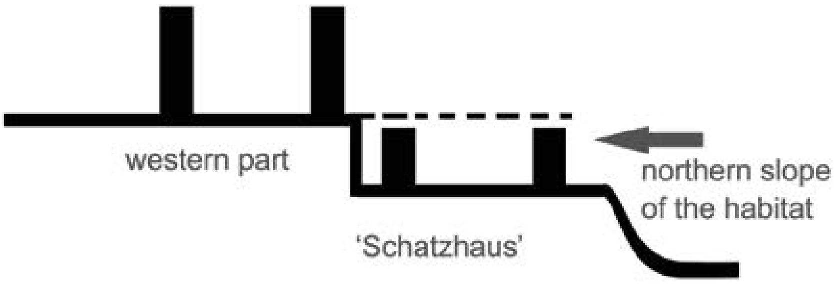
The floor space of the "*Schatzhaus,*", nearly square in its layout, was about 10m x 10m and consisted of four rooms – that is, three rooms and a small vestibule. The rooms, about 1.60m high were covered with a ceiling made of wooden planks. (see Adler 1994: 127-128 for the wooden ceiling).

The northern small room Q, nearly square in shape, led directly into the elongated vestibule R/U. This area provided access to rooms S and T, which were also nearly square in shape and about the same size.

When the excavators uncovered the "*Schatzhaus,*" at first they could not determine how the users entered this building. None of the four rooms possessed a ground-level en-

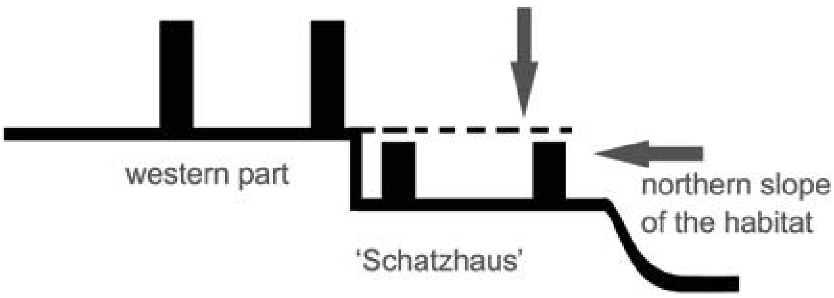


► Fig. 166: The "Schatzhaus" in detail. Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler 1994: 14, Abb. 1; Mansfeld 2013: 244ff.



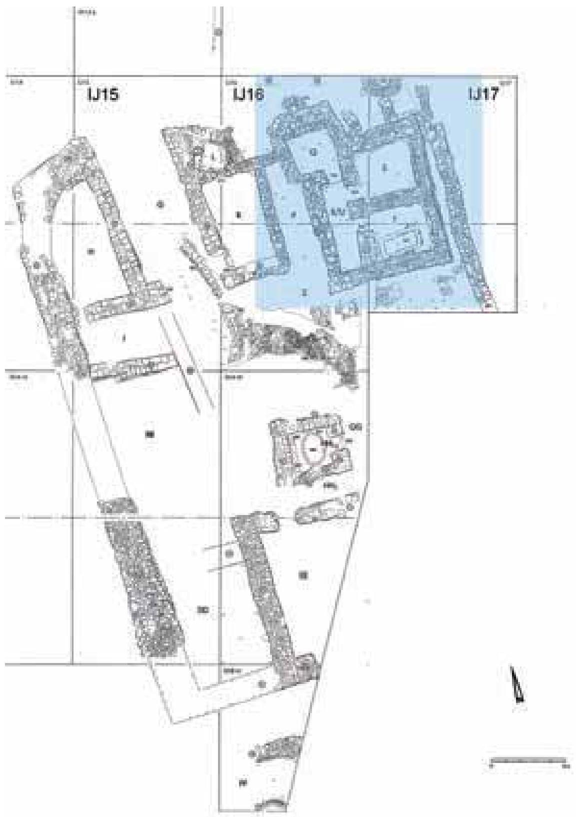
◄ Fig. 167: Sketch (not scaled) illustrating the possible entrance situation. Sources: Archive Heinz; Mansfeld 2013: 244ff.; Adler 1994: 129.

trance (Adler 1994: 129), although the construction of such an access point to the underground building would have been possible (see fig. 167).
The northern façade of rooms Q and S faced the northern slope of the palace area. It would thus have been technically practicable to provide ground-level access here (Adler 1994: 129). (For the slope situation, see chapter 6.1.1 and fig. 98. No such entrance, however, was furnished [Adler 1994: 129]).
The excavators thus suggested another solution: access from above, through room Q (Adler 1994: 129).



◄ Fig. 168: Sketch with possible entrances (not to scale). Sources: Archive Heinz; Mansfeld 2013: 244ff.

If the access was from above, this raises another question – namely, what did the area above the underground building look like? (Adler 1994: 130 asks this question.) Were other rooms built over it or was it an open space? Was "floor P" thus not a floor but part of the courtyard area Z? The layout of the space above the "*Schatzhaus*" remains a matter of debate. The excavators, however, found evidence that might hint at the existence of a building there (Adler 1994: 130). When the archaeologists excavated the underground building,



◄ Fig. 169: Palace P 4d and the "Schatzhaus" in detail. Source: Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 2.

they found the rooms of the "*Schatzhaus*" filled with debris. This debris, according to the excavators, might well have been the remains of a collapsed building that had once stood over the underground "*Schatzhaus*".

8.3.5 The so-called "Schatzhaus": A building with not only a unique location and construction method but also a unique function in the history of the palace buildings of Kamid el-Loz

The hundreds of objects found in the "*Schatzhaus*" (*the treasury*) prompted the previous excavators to give the building this name. Its function, however, was not that of a treasury: The underground building served, in fact, as a funeral site for two children and a male adult. To bury the dead in the realm of the living – namely, in a building that was inhabited at the time of the burial, was a practice already performed at Kamid el-Loz during the Middle Bronze Age period (see chapter 4.1.4). Even those who had lived in the remains of the destroyed cities of Kamid el-Loz did not give up this custom (see chapter 5.1). The new residents kept (or reinvented!?) this old tradition but modified it, as the former inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz did several times before, taking into consideration their new needs. To bury the dead in the palace sphere was an according new and unique need in the history of Kamid el-Loz. New and without parallel in the history of Kamid el-Loz was as well the effort to deliberately build an underground (windowless) house to meet this demand (Adler 1994: 128). The builders of the "*Schatzhaus*", according to our current and the above-presented interpretation of the floorplan, assigned room Q the function of the entrance to the entire complex; room R/U served as a floor and provided access to rooms S and T, which functioned as the actual grave chambers. New and unrivalled was the requirement to bury the dead with an extraordinary amount and quality of grave goods, which finally led to the labelling of the overall complex as the "*Schatzhaus*". (For the detailed report of the excavators, see Adler 1994 and Miron 1990.)

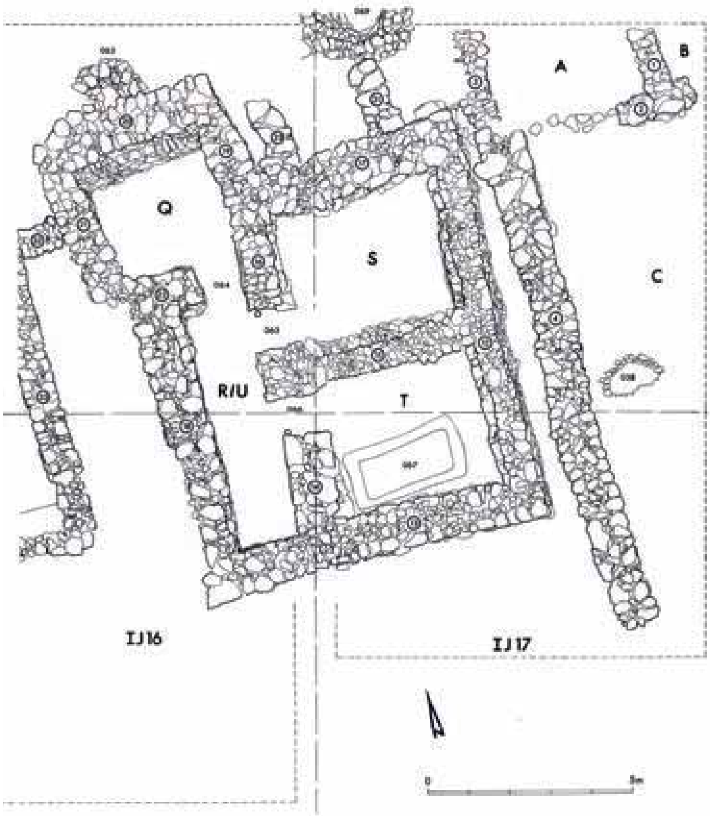
8.3.5.1 The burials

Room S was utilized for the inhumation of a female child (Adler 1994:73) who had died at the age of about eight years. The girl was buried supine and parallel to the eastern wall of the room.

The bereaved had equipped the girl – that is, the girl's grave – with a large number of grave goods. These included, among other objects a variety of golden jewelry (Adler 1994: 73ff.), miniature face masks made from ivory, ivory discs, ivory needles, scarabs and pearls made of carneol, fragments of silver and glass objects, and ivory boxes in form of ducks (Miron 1990: Abb. 65 and 66).

► Fig. 170: An ivory box in form of a duck from room S (length of figurine 25.1 cm. Source: Miron 1990: Abb. 66.





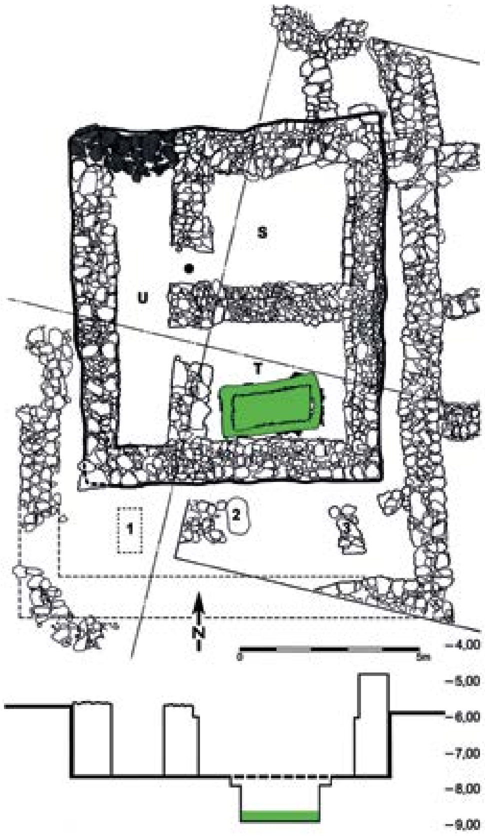


▲ Figs 171, 172: The "Schatzhaus" and the girl's burial in room S. Source: Adler 1994: 14, Abb. 1; Tafel 13.3.

In room T, the second grave-chamber, two deceased were buried: another young child of about 7 years – whether the corpse was that of a boy or a girl could not be determined by the anthropologists (Adler 1994: 99) – and a male adult. Both corpses were placed parallel to the eastern wall of the room (Adler 1994: 104) and not, as one may have expected, interred in the large sarcophagus-like basin, which was installed in front of the southern wall of room T. The function of this structure is yet to be explained. Both deceased likewise were buried with a huge amount of grave goods (Adler 1994: 91ff). Among them were weapons made of bronze and fragments of scale armor; silver and bronze vessels; scarabs made of bronze; golden pendants; figurines made of silver and gold sheet; a figurine of a female lyrist, made of ivory; an ivory board; stone vessels; and painted pottery originating from Cyprus and Crete. Another object found in room T originated outside of *Kumidi*: A ring with a scarab and the cartouche of the Egyptian pharaoh Thutmosis III (Miron 1990: Tafel 30; see here fig. 174).

The burials in palace P 4d are singular in the history of Kamid el-Loz; they raise a large number of questions. Who were the dead? Why and how did they die? Why were they buried in the realm of the palace? Who decided to do so and what made the bereaved bury them with this unique amount and variety of grave goods? How did these goods reach *Kumidi*? Were they made locally or were they imports, gifts, or even pieces of booty? Exploring the social, cultural, political, and economic backgrounds, causes and imperatives of these burials requires a separate study, on which we are already working. Some details concerning the relative as well as the absolute chronology of the burials, however, have already been worked out.

► Figs 173, 174: Room T and the ring of Thutmosis III (diameter of ring 2.15cm. Sources: Mansfeld 2013: 245, Abb. 102; Miron 1990: Tafel 30.





8.3.5.2 The sequence of the funeral services and a first hint to the absolute age of the burials

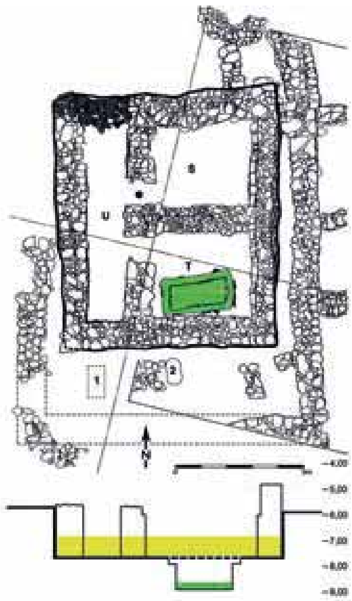
According to the excavators' interpretation, the burials in room T – the entombment of the child and the male adult – were not carried out contemporaneously but consecutively (Adler 1994: 102). There are some indications that the child was buried first. In connection with the interment of the adult man, the child's burial was disturbed and partly robbed. Only after this incident, according to the excavators, did the interment of the girl in room S occur (Adler 1994: 107); her burial remained undisturbed. What remains unanswered is the question of how much time elapsed between the respective interments. A hint, however, is available for determining the absolute age of the burials. The ring with the cartouche of the Egyptian pharaoh Thutmosis III., ruling between roughly 1480 – 1426 B.C., suggests that the burial occurred during or after the reign of Thutmosis III.

8.3.6 Palace 4 d, the burials, and, after a certain time, a change in needs

Political, cultural, religious, and social needs and habits made the palace a multi-functional building. Three deceased were buried in the realm of the living. According to our current knowledge about burial habits in the neighboring areas of Mesopotamia and Syria, the regular caring for the dead was indispensable for a good life for the bereaved. The disregard of one's own ancestor, according to the ancient texts, resulted inevitably in hardship in the life of the living. The extraordinary meaning of the ancestor worship as well as the location of the burial chambers within one of the most important iconic buildings of the city of *Kumidi* stood, however, in stark contrast to the fate of the burials that followed.

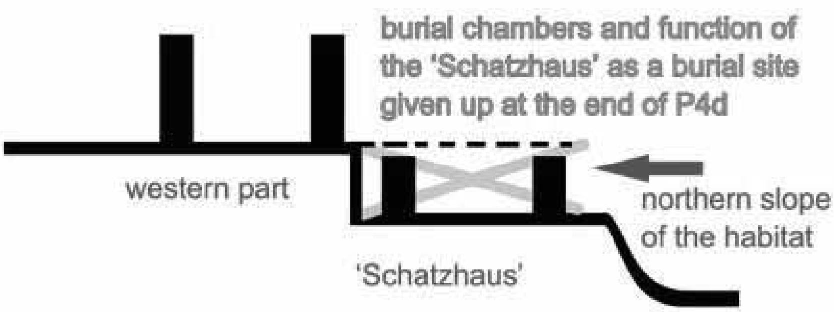
8.3.6.1 The burial site damaged, the burials abandoned: The end of palace phase P 4d

A while after the last inhumation (the excavators could not estimate the duration of this period of time), the (assumed!) aboveground building, which, according to the thesis of the excavators (see chapter 8.3.4), was built over the underground burial chambers, obviously had collapsed. A huge amount of brick rubble had burst the wooden covering of the burial chambers and then filled the building. The rubble reached a height of -7m within the chambers (Adler 1994: 110 and here fig. 175). We do not know the basic cause of the destruction. If just a misfortune caused the building to collapse, one would expect that the residents would have repaired the damage immediately and restored the proper order at once. If it were an enemy attack against the local elite, this very well might have resulted in a looting of the graves, a practice known throughout history, not only in ancient Near Eastern societies, that aims at the full obliteration of the affected society. Neither one of these actions, however, took place. The chambers were not cleared of the rubble and cleaned, the underground building was not reorganized, and the graves were not looted at that time. Rather, the site, as the excavators saw it, was left in its demolished state. The rubble was only smoothed out and then covered with a new wooden ceiling at a depth of approximately - 6m (see fig. 175). The function of the underground building as burial space was given up, and the burials were abandoned. A major functional change had occurred, and a formal endeavor by the builders, the covering of the broken ceiling and the underlying rubble, allowed the archaeologists to detect this event. For the users of the palace, this change would have symbolized a major caesura in their utilization of the palace. The excavators correlate this change in function with the end of the utilization phase P 4d and the transition to the beginning of palace P 4c.



◄ Fig. 175: The "Schatzhaus" and a sketch of the rubble fill. Sources: Archive Heinz; Mansfeld 2013: 245, Abb. 102.

With regard to the social and cultural changes, this abandonment of the burial site, according to our interpretation, meant far more than just changing the functional use of one of the areas of the palace. As explicated above (see chapter 8.3.6), ancestor worship was a ritual essential for the survival of the kinfolk of the deceased. Who thus could have taken the liberty, who



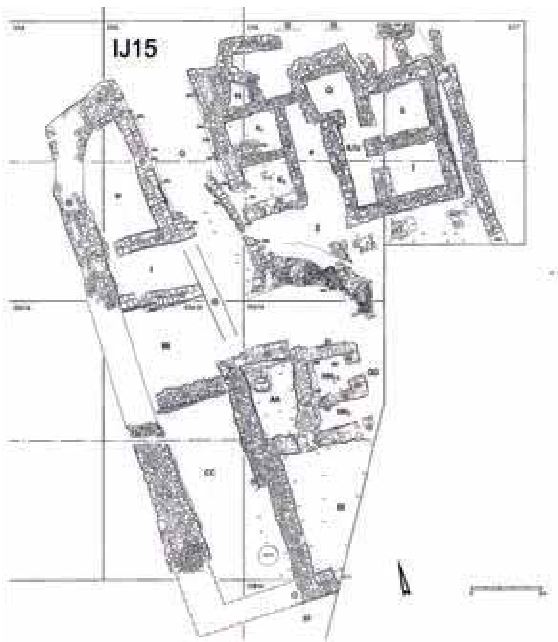
◄ Fig. 176: A sketch of the changing situation from Palace P 4d to Palace P 4c. Source: Archive Heinz.

would have dared or who was possibly forced to neglect this obligation? What happened in *Kumidi* that the residents of the palace gave up this crucial duty? We are currently working on this topic, and although we cannot yet offer a final solution, I can put forward some of the ideas we are tracing. We interpret the abandonment of the burial site as a hint to a profound change in the cultural organization of *Kumidi* at the time. Burial habits, more than other social practices, epitomize the deep-rooted traditional values of a community. In any circumstances and all inconveniences, according to social science theories, people generally try to adhere closely to their burial practices. Burial practices are given up, according to these studies, only when people are forced to do so by external circumstances, whether natural disasters or social upheavals, or when no kinfolk who could carry on the traditions are around anymore. At present, I consider all three options as possible reasons for the situation that occurred at *Kumidi*. What we currently know is that those who leveled the rubble and sealed the burial site with the new ceiling did not carry on the former tradition; they either had not known of the existence of the burials or had known of them but were not socially connected to the deceased. What we are looking for is more detailed information about the possible reasons for the abandonment of this essential custom. We expect to gain insights into this situation with our next projected major research project, the detailed analysis of the historical, political, economic, cultural, religious, and social development of *Kumidi,* the Levant, and the neighboring areas during the Late Bronze Age period.

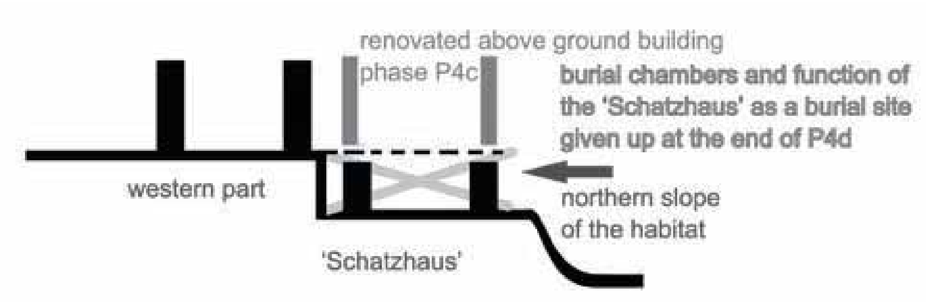
8.3.7 The transition from palace phase P 4d to phase P 4c

The burial space, documenting an important cultural, political, religious, and social function of palace P 4d, was given up but the broad use of the palace was not. The new development – namely, the continuing use of the palace, is called phase P 4c.

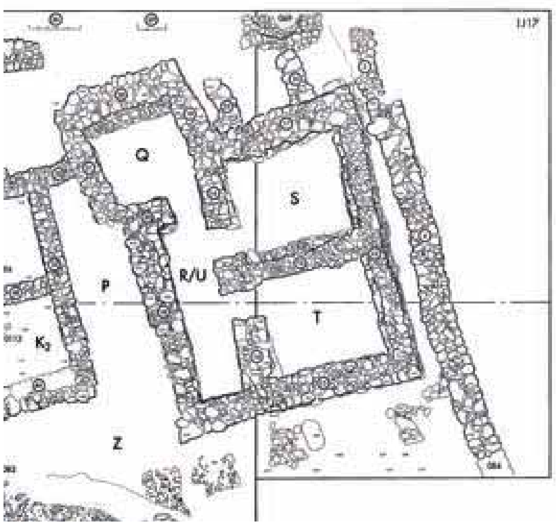
The abandonment of the burials – the utilization of the palace as burial ground – meant that the users of the palace gave up a fundamental social and cultural practice. Although this behavior was the most surprising for us, another aspect surprised us as well. In former times, the destruction of the palace in every case led to the setting up of an entirely new form and building type. New needs and new demands of the users, according to our interpretation, in each case led to the design of new building forms. In the present case, however, a basic need of the inhabitants of the palace was given up – the underground burial chambers were abandoned. A burial site inside the palace was no longer needed



► Fig. 177: Palace phase P 4c. Source: Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 3.



◄ Fig. 178: A sketch of the palace phase P 4c development. Source: Archive Heinz.



◄ Fig. 179: The "Schatzhaus". Source: Adler 1994: 14, Abb. 1.

(Adler 1994: 130). No major visible change in the layout of the iconic building, however, seems to have followed. The residents of the palace simply renovated the demolished parts, used the burial chambers' solid stone walls as solid substructures for new brickwork (Adler 1994: 131), modified the northern part of the building modestly (see fig. 177), and continued to live in and use the palace (now designated as phase P 4c).

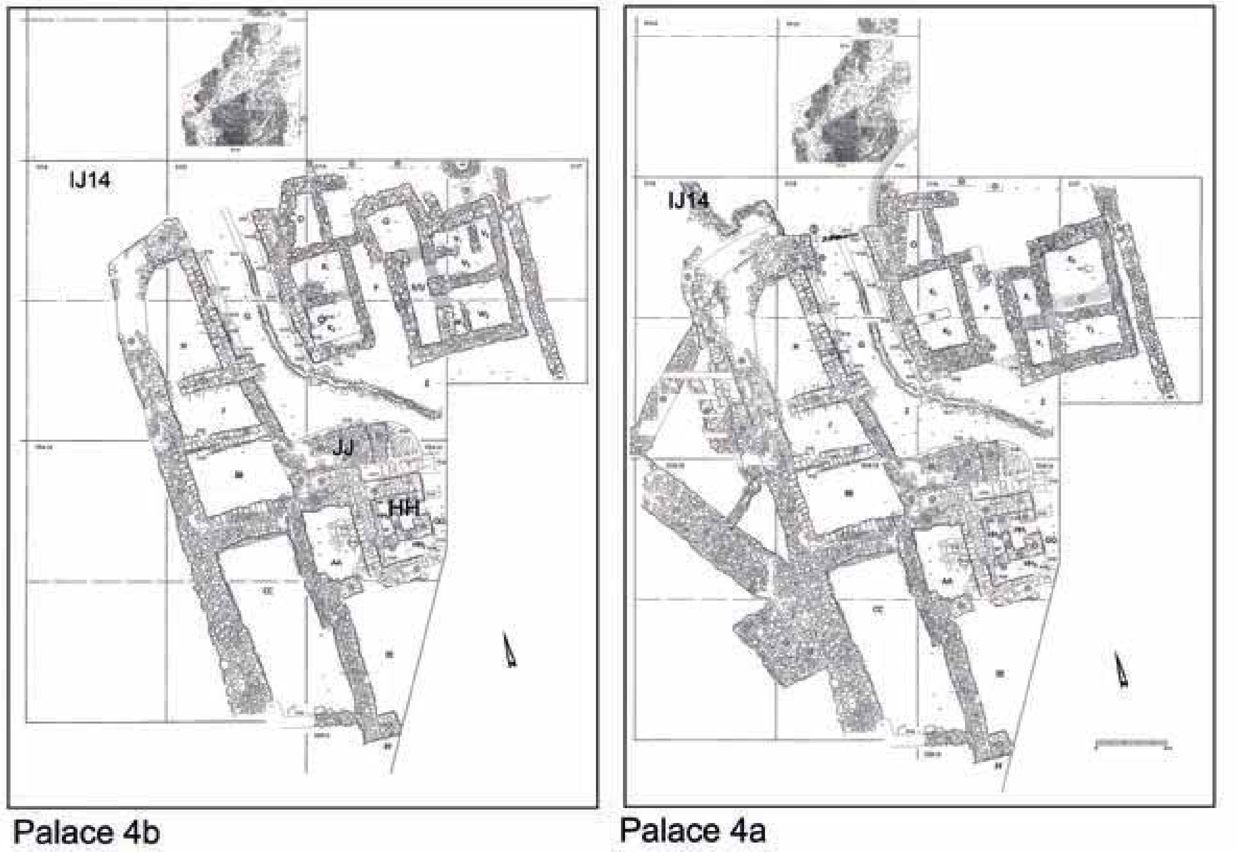
After the palace precinct was renovated, it was used again for a period (of still unknown duration) without interruption. As did so many of the palaces of Kamid el-Loz, however, palace P 4c then fell victim to a blaze. This fire destroyed its western part, but affected neither the renovated aboveground building covering the abandoned "*Schatzhaus*" nor the eastern workshop area (Adler 1994: 99).

8.3.8 After the blaze that damaged palace P 4c, the palace was rebuilt and its functions continued: Phases P 4b/P 4a

The blaze that partially destroyed palace P 4c once again did not lead to the abandonment of the entire site but prompted the users to attend to the building without delay. They restored the devastated rooms and installed in addition to staircase HH a second staircase in area JJ. This means that a need for a new route to pass through the palace – namely, reaching the various levels – had developed.

The building that was erected over the abandoned "*Schatzhaus*" underwent some modifications in form, which again went hand in hand with a functional change. The users subdivided the rooms with small walls and employed the structure for the storage of building materials (palace P 4b).

Later, yet another modification of its layout became necessary (palace P 4a). Again the users changed the size and structure of the rooms. They altered the internal design of the building into one larger and three smaller rooms and gave up room Q. The reason for this modification and the function of the building at this time remain unknown. Another feature is remarkable, the massive western wall, interpreted by the excavators (Adler/Penner 2001:



▲ Fig. 180, 181: Palace phases P 4b and P 4a. Source: Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 5 and 6.

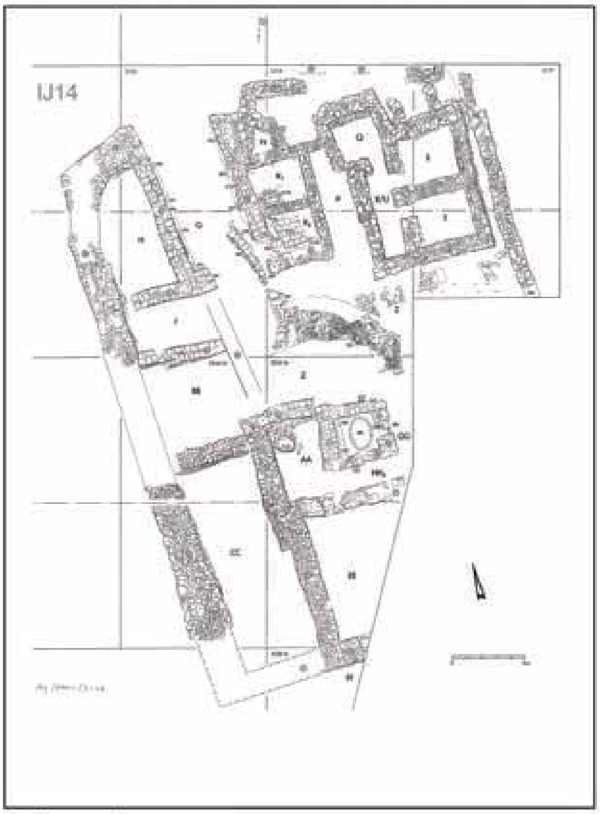
202) as part of the fortification of the area. (The chronology of that wall remains however to be clarified. The wall reached down to the bottom of the western wall of palace P 5, see figs 209 – 216).

The effort however to fortify the precinct did not prevent the palace P 4 from a violent end: Another blaze, this time a tremendous one, destroyed most of it, and the building – its layout and functions as well as all the elements and traditions connected to its form and functions – was irrevocably given up.

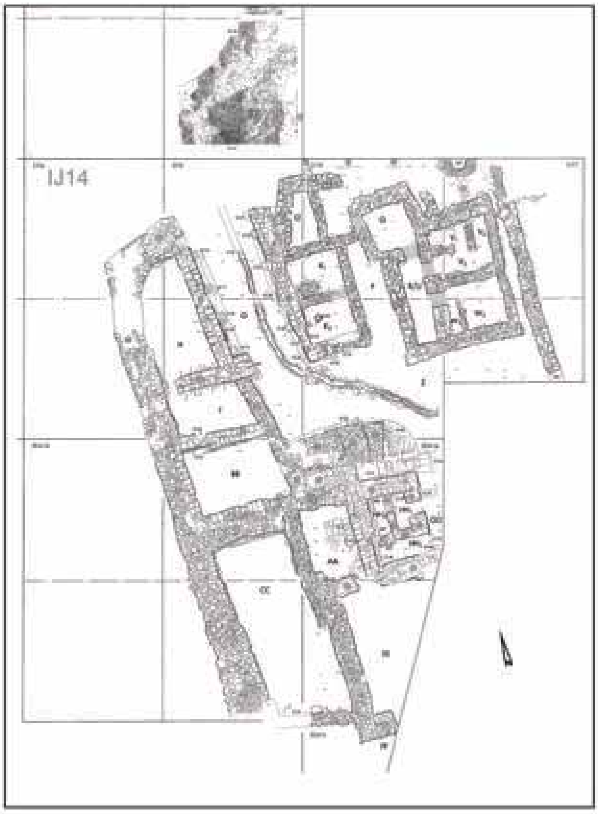
8.3.9 Palaces P 4c, P 4b, and P 4a were modified in form, differentiated in function, and singular unparalleled with regard to the finds: The cuneiform tablets of *Kumidi*

It was not the modifications in form that made these phases exceptional in the history of *Kumidi*, but first the functional change, the giving up of the burial area (phase P 4c), and then the finding of the cuneiform texts in phases P 4c, P 4b, and P 4a. Altogether seven tablets resp. fragments have been found in *Kumidi* so far, five within the palace context (KL 69/279, 278, 277 in room J; KL 72/600 in staircase JJ and KL 78/200 in the former Schatzhaus – area), two in secondary contexts on site (KL 69/100 and KL 74/300)(see Hachmann 2012).

The texts give insights into international political events that *Kumidi* was involved in at the time (for details, see likewise Hachmann 2012) and provide us with further information about the chronology of palace P 4 as well. We are first interested in those references that help us to date the palace. Personal names mentioned in the texts from *Kumidi* also occur in the texts of the so-called Amarna archive. This archive, found in the Egyptian city of Amar-



Palace 4c



Palace 4b

▲ Figs 182, 183: Palace phases P 4c and P 4b, the find-spots of the tablets. Sources: Adler/ Penner 2001: Planum 4 and 5; Hachmann 2012: 34ff.

na, contains more than 300 tablets, written, as are the texts from *Kumidi*, in Middle-Babylonian Akkadian, the language of diplomacy in Western Asia in the 15th and 14th century B.C. The archive covers about 50 years of the political correspondence of the two Egyptian pharaohs Amenophis III (about 1388 – 1351 B.C.) and his son Amenophis IV (later named Akhenaton; about 1351 – 1334 B.C.) with their vassals (for details see Moran 1992). The correspondence in names in the texts of *Kumidi* and Amarna are regarded as indicators that they are from the same period. This interpretation is also based on even more solid ground. Among the texts from Amarna, five texts that directly name *Kumidi* have been found (see Moran 1992, texts EA 116:75; 129:85; 132:49; 197:38; and 198:5). These texts – letters – refer to problems that the major city Byblos had concerning the safety of the city itself, report the threat that other vassal cities of the Egyptian superpower, including *Kumidi*, faced at the time, and uncover the role of Egypt as the then dominant power in the Levant. The



◄ Fig. 184: Cuneiform tablet KL 69:277 from palace P 4c (size: 8.5cm x 6cm). Source: Hachmann 2012: 34.

textual evidence enables us to correlate the phases of palace P 4c, P 4b, and P 4a with the reigns of the Egyptian pharaohs Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, c. 1388 B.C. – 1334 B.C. That is, we estimate at least 50 years for the utilization history of these three palace phases P 4c – P 4a. Together with the chronological assignment we made for palace P 4d (based on the ring inscribed with the name of the Egyptian pharaoh Thutmosis III (about 1486 – 1425 B.C.), which was found among the burial objects in room T of the "*Schatzhaus*"), we estimate a utilization history of palace P 4 of about 150 years:

Palace P 4	**Period of time**	**Egyptian Pharao**
P 4b/a P 4c	1388 – 1351 B.C. / 1351 – 1334 B.C.	Amenophis III and Amenophis IV
P 4d	1486 – 1425 B.C.	Thutmosis III

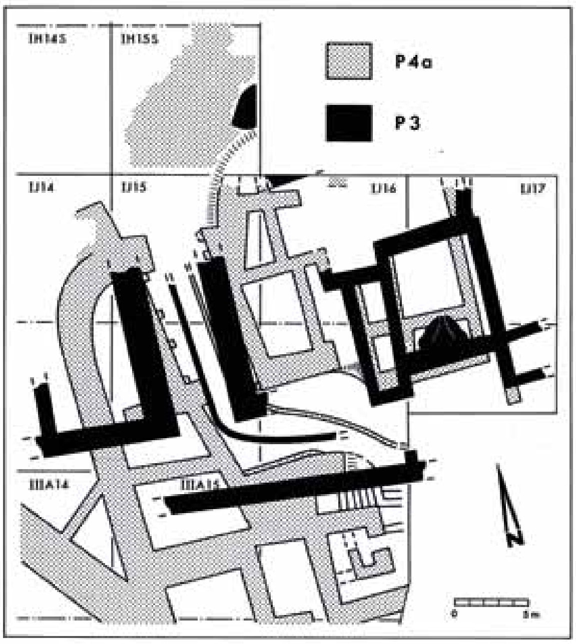
The written evidence found in palace P 4 of *Kumidi* thus allows us first to date this palace. As mentioned above, however, the texts contain a variety of further historical and political information; in particular, they allow us to gain insights into the political conditions in the Levant and at *Kumidi* itself at that time. We will perform a detailed analysis of the history of the site in our upcoming study on the historical, political, economic, cultural, religious, and social development of Kamid el-Loz*,* the Levant, and the neighboring areas through the ages. The following short remarks, however, will point out in what way the political doings of the Egyptian pharaohs might have affected the life of the people and elites of *Kumidi* during the Late Bronze Age (including the utilization of palace P 4).

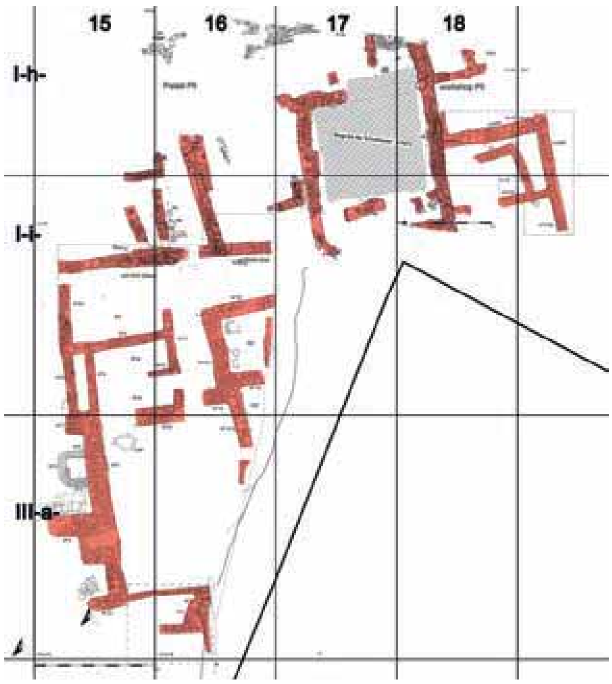
Thutmosis III (1486 – 1425 B.C.) conducted military campaigns to the Levant, and *Kumidi* is mentioned in the list of cities that were visited on this occasion (Adler 1994: 142). In one way or another, *Kumidi* was involved in Egyptian military actions. What, however, actually happened to the city, to the people, and to the elites of *Kumidi* and how the ring of Thutmosis III ended up in burial chamber T of palace P 4d is one of the questions we will deal with in detail in our future study.

During the reigns of both Amenophis III (Amenhotep III; about 1388 – 1351 B.C.) and his son Amenophis IV (Amenhotep IV., later named Akhenaton; about 1351 – 1334 B.C.), *Kumidi* was a vassal of the Egyptian empire (Adler, 1994: 142 and Morris 2005). The question of what such a status implied for the residents, including the local elites of the city, will be another central theme in the abovementioned future study on the development of Kamid el-Loz.

8.4 Palace P 3, or, more precisely, some walls perhaps forming an entrance (transitional LBA I / LBA II c. 1400/1350 B.C.)

Only the northern part of the structure that the builders erected after the burning of palace P 4a remained. The custom of building over the old palace with solid and monumental walls, however, convinced us to see in these remains a newer palace structure, named by the excavators palace P 3 (Adler/Penner 2001: 220). We can say very little about form and functions of this palace. Its users changed the layout of the building, which had covered the "Schatzhaus" during phase P 4a once again, and made it a house with two unevenly sized large rooms. The workshop area to the east contained exposed fragments of installations, hinting at sporadically conducted craft activities (Adler/Penner 2001: 235). There is one important aspect to be discussed, however. The entrance of palace P 3, with access from the north through a small vestibule, which leads into a transverse space, resembles the layout of the earliest LBA palace, P 5, far more than that of palace P 4.





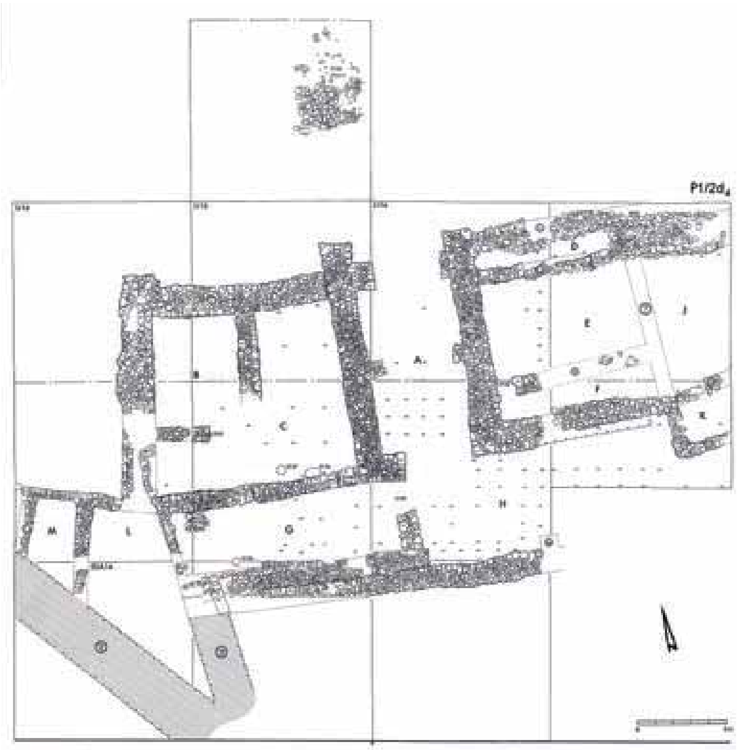
▲ Figs 185, 186: The entrance of palace P 3 and the oldest LBA palace, P 5. Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler 1994: Taf. 51; Adler/Penner 2001: Abb. 70.

If this similarity in form is real and not just a random effect due to the few surviving walls, the following questions arise: How can we explain the similarity in form of palace P 3 to a building, palace P 5, that had been built and had burned down at least 150 years before and whose burnt remains were then built over with palace P 4? 150 years is about 7 to 8 generations. How could someone have known this earlier layout or was the similarity of P 3 to P 5 a mere coincidence? These questions belong to a subject that interests us most in our endeavor to reconstruct history: how is knowledge prevented from going into oblivion?

At the same time, further thoughts emerge concerning the question of how a palace layout originates. According to our observations, palace P 4 was different in form from its predecessor, palace P 5, as well as from its succes-

sor, palace P 3. We connected the history of palace P 4 in its several phases with the activities of the Egyptian superpower in the Levant at the time. The question to be dealt with is, was the layout of palace P 4 influenced by contact with or even due to the needs and demands of this superpower? This question will be resolved by our future study on the history of *Kumidi*! Burn marks on some of the walls of palace P 3 suggest to the excavators that the palace was burned down (Adler/Penner 2001: 349). The burnt remains were removed, and palace P 2/1 subsequently was built on top of the reused building lot (Adler/Penner 2001: 242).

8.5 Palaces P 2 / P 1: The end of the institution at the end of the Late Bronze Age (LBA II c. 1400/1350 – 1200 B.C.)

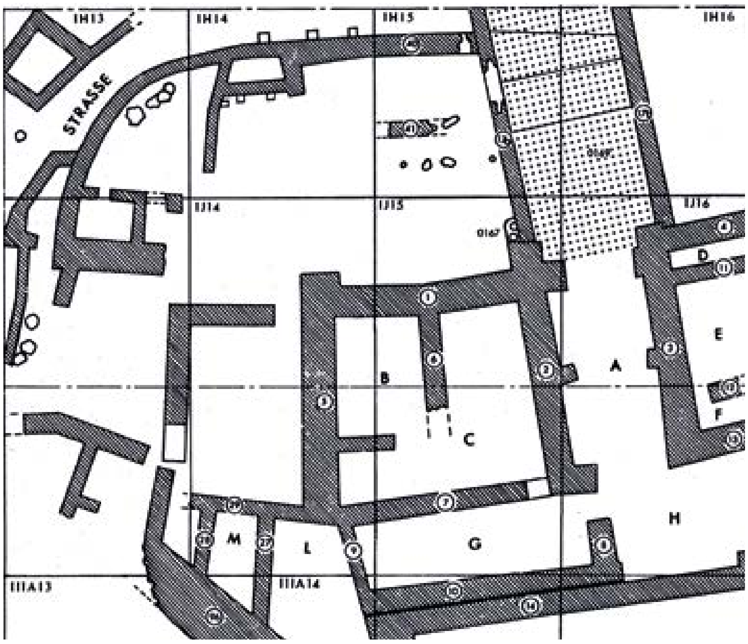


▲ Fig. 187: The remains of palace P 2 / P 1. Source: Adler Penner 2001: Planum 8a.

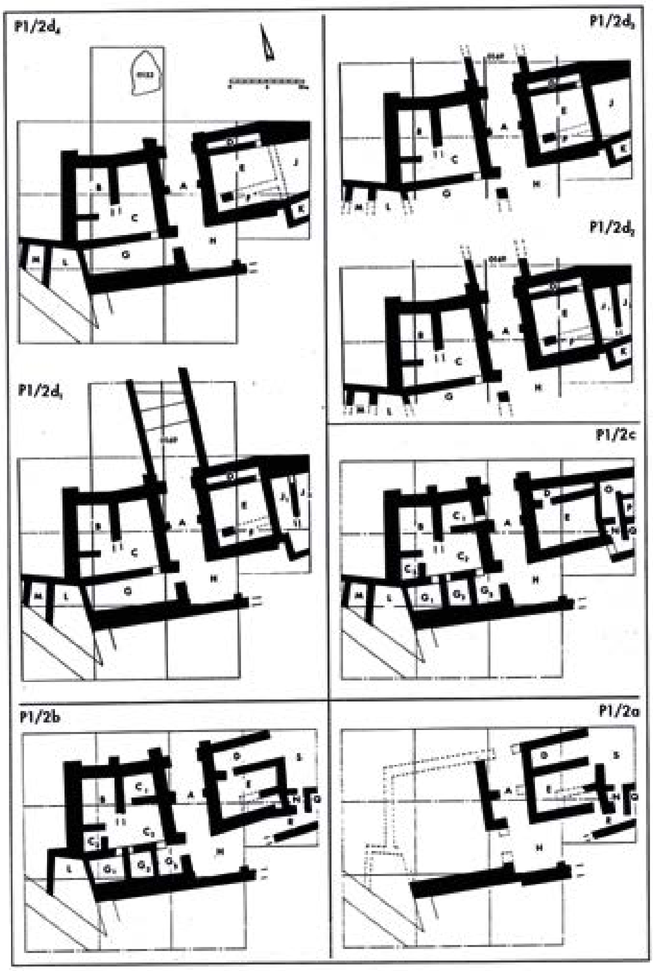
For the last time, a burnt palace, P 3, was replaced by another building, palace P 2/P 1 of *Kumidi*. The designation of this structure has to be briefly explained. The excavators mistakenly thought that they excavated two palaces, but later revised this interpretation and recognized that P 2/P 1 were in fact two phases of one and the same basic structure. As was the case for palace P 3, only the northern part of palace P 2/P 1 remained. The core structural design of the entrance of palace P 2/1 was not unlike that of its predecessor. The structures surrounding or forming the entrance were, however, better preserved and this allows us to add some additional comments on the layout of palace P 2/P 1. New demands caused the new residents to change the design of the area that, on the one hand, first housed the "*Schatzhaus*" (P 4d), followed by the buildings that were built over this structure after the users of the palace abandoned the burials (P 4c-a; P 3) and, on the other hand, accommodated the metal workshop throughout the years. Obviously, the new residents of palace P 2/P 1 had new needs, which they expressed, among other ways, in the architectural layout of the habitat. Two complex square wings now flanked or formed a central corridor. In the course of the building's history, the builders added a row of smaller rooms to the southern part of the western wing. Further south, we assume, the corridor opened into a large, central courtyard, a familiar design used in palace P 5 as well as in its MBA forerunners.

During phase P 2/1d, according to the excavators, a limiting wall at the northwestern side of the palace segregated the area from its surroundings (see fig. 188). An alley ran along this wall, which at the same time reinforced the separation of the palace from and its connection to the city. Over the

course of time, a first blaze struck the palace P 2/P 1 and caused destruction in the northeastern wing of the building (phase P 2/P 1d4), as a massive layer of burnt rubble shows. It was not this fire, however, that ended the functioning of the palace. Additional blazes hit the area. The next burning destroyed the eastern part, and this time did the fire also hit the row of rooms "G" in the west (phase d1 of palace P 2/P 1). Rebuilding and a reburning followed as well. Larger parts of the structure of palace P 2/P 1 were destroyed in phase c. Yet this was not the end of the building and its functioning as a palace. The inhabitants of *Kumidi* still needed the palace and thus rebuilt it again. Palace P 2/P 1, phase b was established – and burned! Once again, and now for the last time, a rebuilding occurred. Palace P 2/P 1, phase a, was the last stage of a palace construction at *Kumidi*. This, however, seems to have been the only palace phase of P 2/1 that did not burn down. The last palace was given up and was allowed to decay when at the end of the Late Bronze Age II *Kumidi* was abandoned as an urban center (Adler/Penner 2001: 349).



▲ Fig. 188: A reconstruction of the habitat of palace P 2 / P 1. Source: Adler/Penner 2001: Abb. 83.



◀ Fig. 189: The development of the form of palace P 2 / P 1. Source: Adler/Penner 2001: Abb. 78.

The giving up of palace P 2/P 1 was not just the abandonment of a palace building. The giving up of this iconic structure symbolized at the same time the end of urban life at Kamid el-Loz, the end of a social structure and a political order that had shaped the communities of Kamid el-Loz for about 550 years (MBA II – LBA II; c. 1750 – 1200 B.C.). The palace as the central seat of the earthly elite,

according to our current interpretation, was no longer needed. A major cultural, social, and political change began with the development of the so-called Iron Age (beginning about 1200 B.C.), that led to a completely different mode of life at Kamid el-Loz.

8.6 The Late Bronze Age palaces: An eventful story of four buildings and an institution

The roughly 300 years of the Late Bronze Age palace development were eventful. Four palaces were built (P 5, P 4, P 3 and P 2/1); these buildings burned down at least eight times and were, partially or in toto, destroyed by the conflagrations.

P 5 LBA I	P 4d LBA I	P 4c LBA II	P 4b LBA II	P 4a LBA II	P 3 LBA II	P 2 / P 1 d4 LBA II	P 2 / P 1 d1 LBA II	P 2 / P 1 c LBA II	P 2 / P 1 b LBA II	P 2 / P 1 a LBA II
burned	*allowed to decay*	burned	*allowed to decay*	burned	burned	burned	burned	burned	burned	*given up and allowed to decay*



▲ Figs 190-194: Overview of the Late Bronze Age palaces. Sources: See figs 152, 153, 162, 185, 187.

Those living at *Kumidi* during the Late Bronze Age faced the burning of the palace eight times and they managed to renovate or rebuild this structure just as often.

8.6.1 Continuity in times of change

In this long sequence of changeful events, *one* thing never changed throughout the entire local history. The location of all palaces ever set up at Kamid el-Loz remained the same throughout 550 years of MBA (1750 – 1550 B.C.) and LBA (1550 – 1200 B.C.) urban development. This building constantly occupied the highest peak of the city. It was the institution that, notwithstanding all incidents, was required to present itself as *the* distinguished landmark of the city. The palace ever stood out from the rest of all buildings by its raised and at the same time isolated placement. All builders and residents of the palaces, so my interpretation, knew the potential favorable impact of the palace's location for an effective representation of power – the intent was, according to this view, to give a view of the entire area and to be seen from afar. The location, of course, had a disadvantage as well: Every attack on the palace as symbol of power, and thus on the image of strength and potential of the power holder, was also highly visible in this location! However, segregation, so my thesis, was one motivation for selecting the location of all palaces and was obviously essential for the institution and its representatives to fulfill their functions for and within the community for the entire 550 years of urban life in Kamid el-Loz.

8.6.2 Uniqueness in times of continuity and change

We see at the same time a phenomenon that appeared *only once* in the entire palace history of Kamid el-Loz, an event that had neither a local precedent nor a later manifestation – the use of the palace as burial site. The utilization of the palace P 4 as a burial site in phase P 4d was the most conspicuous functional innovation connected to this institution and remained at the same time an exception within the 550 years of the palace history at Kamid el-Loz. Unique was as well the use of cuneiform tablets in phases P 4c, P 4b, and P 4a and unprecedented was the design of palace P 4 that resembled neither its forerunners nor its successors. The change in form was thus highly visible and we wonder who the people were who introduced these changes to *Kumidi* at the time, what the reasons were behind these innovations, and who among the inhabitants of *Kumidi* had knowledge about the range of innovations that were introduced with the setting up of palace P 4. Earlier, we discussed the meaning of burial rites to people, the overall conservatism of burial rites, and what needs to happen in order for people to change their traditional burial rites. Burial rites, according to social scientific studies on the subject, usually change under pressure from the outside (see chapters 4.1.4; 5.1; 6.1.3.2; 7.1-7.5.1; 8.3.5; 8.3.6.1) and are not subject to fashion or arbitrary biases. Immigration studies show furthermore that changes or "sudden occurrences" of hitherto unknown burial rites are often connected to the cultural and religious traditions of newcomers, belonging to a different cultural background, rather than to those who already lived in a place for a long time. Palace P 4 showed several unique features; the most peculiar among them was the new burial rite. A number of signs indicated Egyptian influence on the city of *Kumidi*. Were thus the innovations, the

locally unique cultural habits, and the deviations to earlier and from later realities caused by the Egyptian presence in the Levant and the area of today's Lebanon? We hope to find an answer to this question in our future research.

8.6.3 Continuity, uniqueness and change: Our questions concerning the story of the Late Bronze Age palaces of Kumidi are many

The several burnings of the Late Bronze Age palaces had different consequences on the form of the palace – from just restoring the layout of the damaged parts to rebuilding the entire palace according to an all-new design. The story of the palaces raises a great variety of questions, some of which we already presented in our reflections on the Middle Bronze Age cities (see chapter 4ff.). What happened in each case that led to the destruction of the palaces and their rebuilding? What consequences did these events have on the inhabitants of *Kumidi*, the people as well as the political and religious elites; the social and political order; the neighbors of *Kumidi*; and the political alliances and trade partnerships of the city? Were the causes of the destructive blazes and the following social, political, economic, and cultural aftereffects the same every time? Or was every single incident attributed to a different triggering cause and was it always unique in its effect as well? Where did the palace elite reside and where were the functions of this institution performed while the palace was in ruins or in the process of reconstruction? What happened to the image of the worldly elite and the aura of the palace when the city's symbol of power was smashed? What impression was left in the mind of the inhabitants of *Kumidi* when this institution was visibly degraded? The complexity of these questions requires time to answer. One aspect, however, should already be considered and claim our attention. The impact that the visible destruction of a symbol such as a palace has on the inhabitants of a city, whether the elite residing in this iconic building or the inhabitants of a city living with this symbol, should be very much dependent on the causes that led to the palace's destruction. In my reflections on the events that affected the Middle Bronze Age cities, I briefly addressed a variety of possible social, political, and cultural circumstances that led to the destructions and disasters. I review these reflections and consider them below in more detail.

8.6.4 An outline of scenarios that might have caused the destructions and disasters, which the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz had to face throughout the course of history

Three scenarios might have caused the numerous destructions of the palaces of *Kumidi* (as well as the burnings that destroyed the older cities of Kamid el-Loz):

- destructions as result of accidents,
- destructions executed as attacks against the ruling political, cultural, and social order,
- destructions performed to preserve and hand down the ruling political, cultural, and social order.

It is not easy to ignite and burn a house built of stone and brick. So what caused the blazes? Was it misfortune (see scenario 1)? I consider it rather unlikely that this is the explanation for all the recorded events. That an accident could have been one among several causes for the multiple burnings,

however, cannot be excluded! Hundreds of texts written in the past and uncovered by archaeological excavations in the Near East record enemy attacks against cities (see scenario 2), against the ruling elites, against the inhabitants, and against the local cultural orders. But attacks, according to historical reports, were also initiated from within the communities, in which local rebels overturned the local rule and seized the power by a coup d'état. Cuneiform texts report about non-natives attacking their neighboring communities, seizing power, taking over the cities, and having the inhabitants and their working power at their disposal.

If such attacks executed by enemies from inside or outside the affected community caused the destructions and disasters, several questions arise concerning the subsequent dealings with the devastated environment. What caused those who initiated the rebuilding of the cities to restore the palace to its form prior to its destruction, as seen with palace P 4c, P 4b, and P 4a? Moreover, why was it possible or even necessary at certain times to generate palaces of all-new types and where did these new forms come from? When, why, and for whom was it an advantage either to retain the old customs and rebuild the palace according to the layout of its destroyed predecessor, thus affirming that life would continue as ever or to wipe out all memory of the old, build the new, and make it the one and only valid symbol of the prevailing ruling order? It goes without saying that to choose and implement the one or the other solution is all dependent on the particular social, political, and economic situation; on the needs of the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz; and on the options at hand in each case. To find out these conditions for action is one of the challenges we are working on.

Destruction of the material evidence of power, however, was not necessarily intended to destroy the underlying cultural, political, and social order. The very opposite could have been aimed at – namely, to maintain the local tradition and the local order (see scenario. 3). We consider two traditions known to have been practiced in ancient Near Eastern societies. Cuneiform texts from Mesopotamia report about the habit to renew the temple from time to time and to clean the building ground before by fire (see here chapter 4.2). We know moreover, again from the cuneiform texts, that in ancient Mesopotamian societies a newly established king often began his reign with building a new palace – either in alignment with the predecessor or in an all new layout! It was thus a local political habit to destroy and rebuild – that is, to create a new palace when a change of regency and ruler occurred (see Royal inscriptions, http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/bibliography/). Transferring this habit into an explanation of the burnings at Kamid el-Loz would mean that the burning of the palaces at Kamid el-Loz was an act intended to keep the local order and strengthen it. The destruction and the rebuilding of the old – the destruction and the recreation of form and layout – would have perpetuated a tradition and continued a local habit.

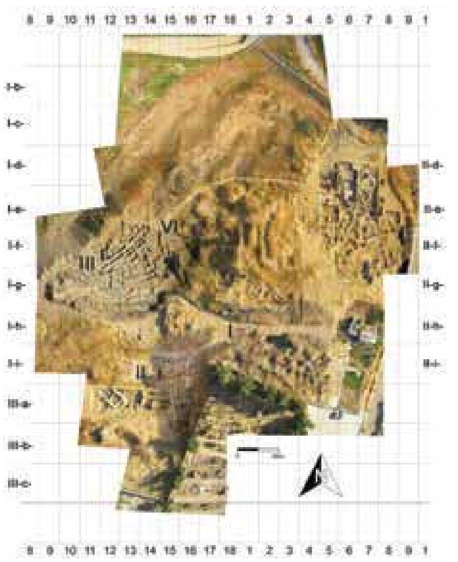
The potential variety of feasible causes for the burning and rebuilding should be obvious. We expect a corresponding variety of different consequences that each burning had for the different social groups and functionaries. Burning a palace always results in its destruction, but it makes a big difference for those affected whether the destruction of the palace was carried out as a means of annihilating the traditional modes of life or to maintain and perpetuate the customary life.

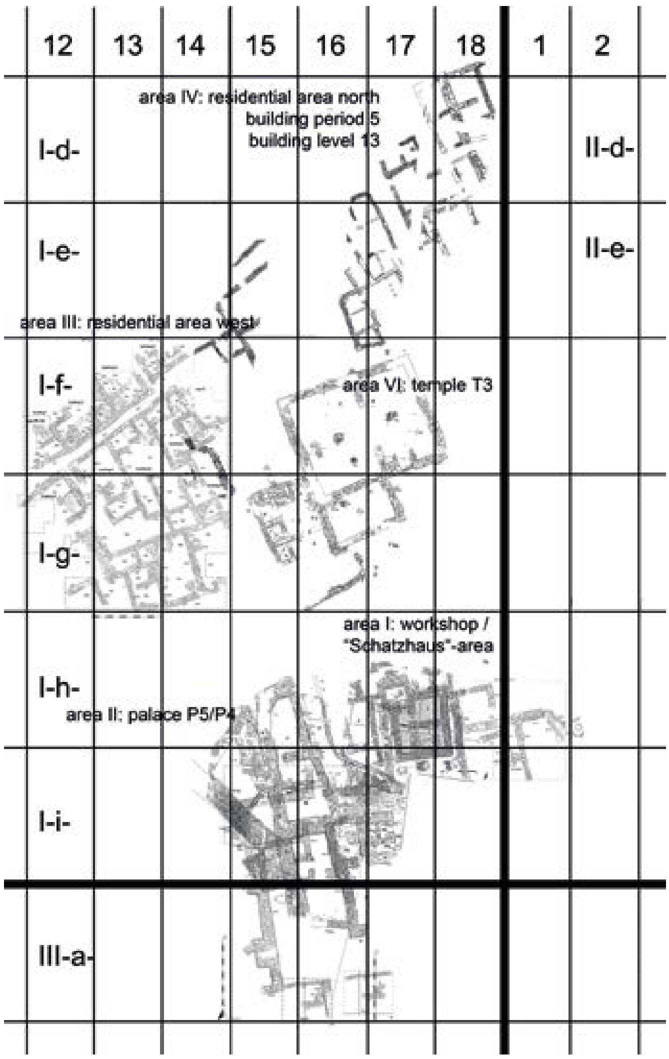
8.6.4.1 First steps for finding solutions

We are currently concerned with finding convincing arguments for determining which solution is accurate, and we should well be aware that every single incident may call for an individual solution! How do we actually proceed? We are currently analyzing if any further changes occurred or if any continuities appeared in the material remains of every palace phase and in the contemporaneous buildings and events. At the same time, are we constructing models and developing theoretical approaches to deal with the questions of what it means when the representative architecture of a city was burned, while many if not all other material cultural expressions continued or when these changed in the process of rebuilding the houses and urban infrastructure and resettling the city.

▼ Figs 195, 196: Overview of the tell and the city map of the Late Bronze Age city of Kumidi. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 14; Metzger 1991: Tafel 17; Adler/Penner 2001; Adler 1994.

8.7 The building for cultic needs was reestablished, its traditional location was retained, but the temple's form and type were new (LBA I – LBA II c. 1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.)





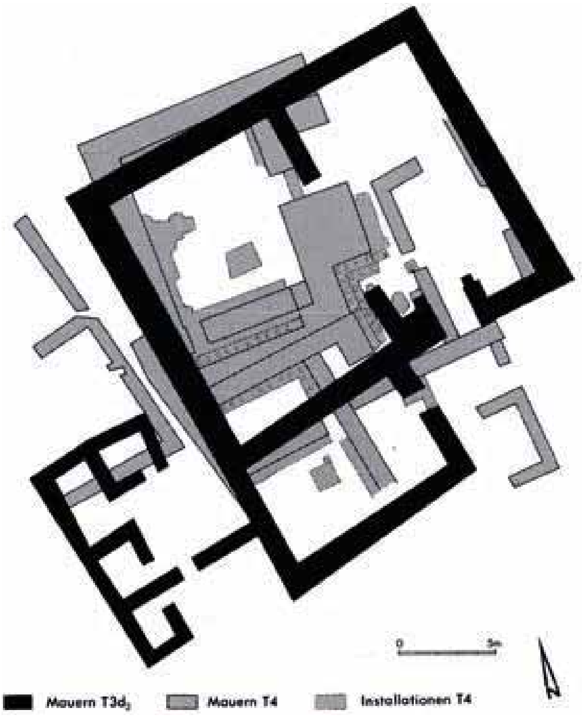
When reurbanization of Kamid el-Loz began early in the Late Bronze Age, the new construction of the temple building and the resumption of cultic activities started immediately. The site chosen as the location for the new temple remained the same as before, the building techniques executed were the same as in the past, and the builders used the traditional building materials for

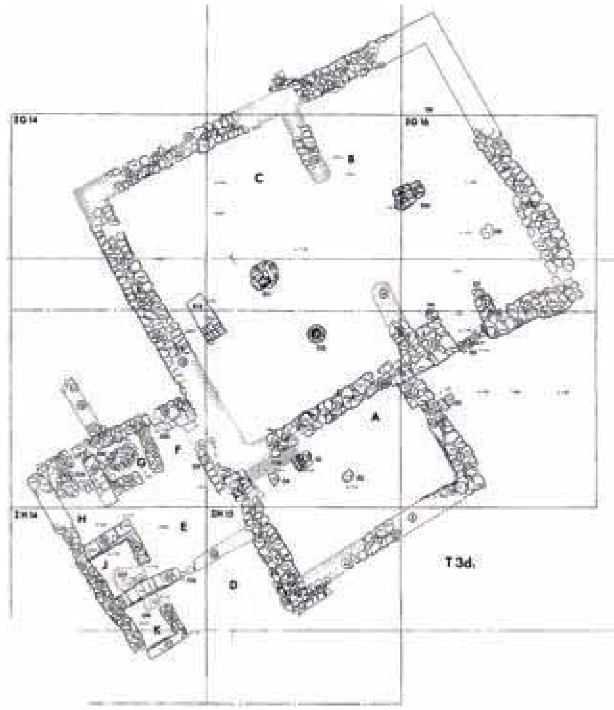
the new edifice: stone, brick, and wood. The temple type, however, changed entirely. Three temples were set up by those responsible for the building activities at *Kumidi* on the traditional spot: temple T 3, T 2, and T 1. Two buildings burned down, temple T 3 and T 2. Temple T 1, the last temple constructed at Kamid el-Loz, was abandoned and allowed to decay.
When we began to study the reactivation process of the temple area, one question came up immediately: Did this reactivation of the temple area occur isochronally with the resettling of the palace district and the residential areas? The answer to this chronological issue should enable us to answer yet another set of questions concerning the living circumstances of the residents of *Kumidi*, the people as well as the elites: When and how did what modes of the urban way of life return to Kamid el-Loz? The subject is complex and will be dealt with in chapter 8.9.1ff.

8.7.1 Temple T 3: A new building type emerges (LBA I c. 1550/1500 – 1400/1350 B.C.)

The last MBA II temple of Kamid el-Loz, temple T 4, was characterized by a single sanctuary with a courtyard in front, surrounding service rooms, and an entrance in its eastern side which was nearly tower-like in its design. These features were now no longer wanted or needed.

▼ Figs 197-198: Temple T 3. Source: Metzger 1991: Tafel 17 and Tafel 39.





The design of temple T 3 differed in most aspects from its predecessors. The reason for classifying the new building as temple, though, is once again based on its formal aspects. The builders designed afresh a building unique in form and, in addition, retained the old custom of setting up this building in an area traditionally used by the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz for iconic buildings. Regardless of this handing down of the familiar, new needs led to innovations and changes. Most important for the users would have been the increase in the number of rooms and courtyards! Although the excavators call units B and C "rooms," they consider them to have been courtyards



▲ Fig. 199: Development of temple T 3. Source: Metzger 1991: Tafel 18.

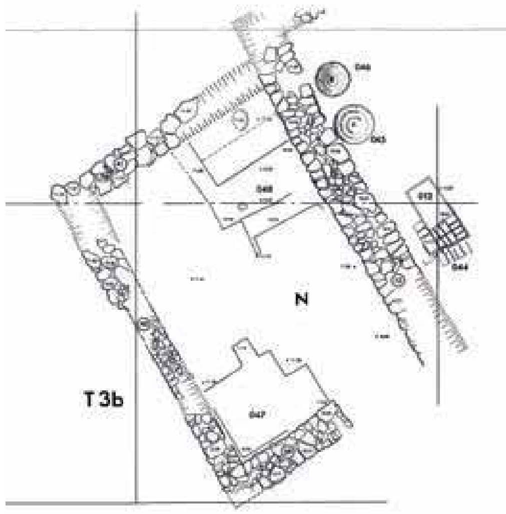
(Metzger 1991: 115). B and C were at the center of the temple, a small room A was added in front of the southern wall of courtyard C, and additional smaller rooms and open zones abutted the western side of the temple. Courtyards B and C were equipped with podia and stone-built fireplaces. In the middle of room A, the builders placed a stone base (interpreted as either a base for a vessel or for a column that functioned as a roof-support). Pits, carefully revetted inside with stones, were dug into the small outer rooms G and H. Throughout all phases of the temples' utilization history (phases T 3d – T 3a), the main temple complex was accessible via its southern entrance into courtyard B. All other rooms had separate entrances. The new form of the temple, according to our interpretation, reflects the new needs of the users. What these needs were, however, we cannot (yet) determine in detail. Installations such as podia, pits, stone bases, and fireplaces, interpreted by the excavators as cultic devices, should be seen as potentially multifunctional in their use. We classify the building as a temple, and it is then tempting to consider the installations as having religious purposes. The same installations found in residential areas, however, would lead us to interpret them as indicators of household activities! This example should remind us and you, the reader, of the problems that occur in archaeological research when we try to define the functions of buildings, rooms, and installations solely on the material evidence.

The general layout of the temple T 3 remained the same through phases T 3c-a. Functional demands, according to our interpretation again, caused the users of the temple to change the layout of the area west of courtyard C first during phase T 3b.

The several smaller rooms were then transformed into one unit, room N. The former installations, pits, were given up and replaced by two podia, located in the northeastern and southwestern corners of room N. Functional demands motivated the users of the temple to alter area N once more in phase T 3a. They dismantled the old podia, divided the room into two, and set up a new podium in room O. Temple T 3 remained in this layout until a conflagration destroyed the entire complex, as thick layers of ashes all over the site attest.

8.7.2 Temple T 2: Copying the old and at the same time creating the new: A double temple emerged (Transition LBA I / LBA II c. 1400/1350 B.C.)

Temple T 3 burned down, and the burning demolished the entire building. This event, however, did not destroy the aura of the temples' habitat, and the settlers of *Kumidi* did not do without a cultic realm in the aftermath. As the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz had done so many times before, those living now at *Kumidi* sprang into action, removed the rubble, leveled the site, and began to rebuild the cultic edifice. While the builders of temple T 3 clearly deviated from the local past, discontinued the design of temple T 4, and invented an entirely new temple form, those responsible for setting up temple T 2 followed another strategy. The destruction of temple T 3 did not obliterate the knowledge of the people about the design and appearance of the destroyed building. To the contrary, those responsible for the rebuilding carefully exposed the walls of the burnt building and then copied the former design – that is, they rebuilt the new temple exactly on the structures of its burnt predecessor with one refinement: only the main section of the former temple – its eastern part, including room A – was built according to the design of its predecessor. The western part of the temple was designed anew as a large building with a central courtyard, this encircled by several rooms. The excavators called this new edifice a "double temple". Two buildings of nearly the same size thus emerged next to each other, each individually accessible, equipped with its own interior design, and designed to suit the new requirements of the settlers.



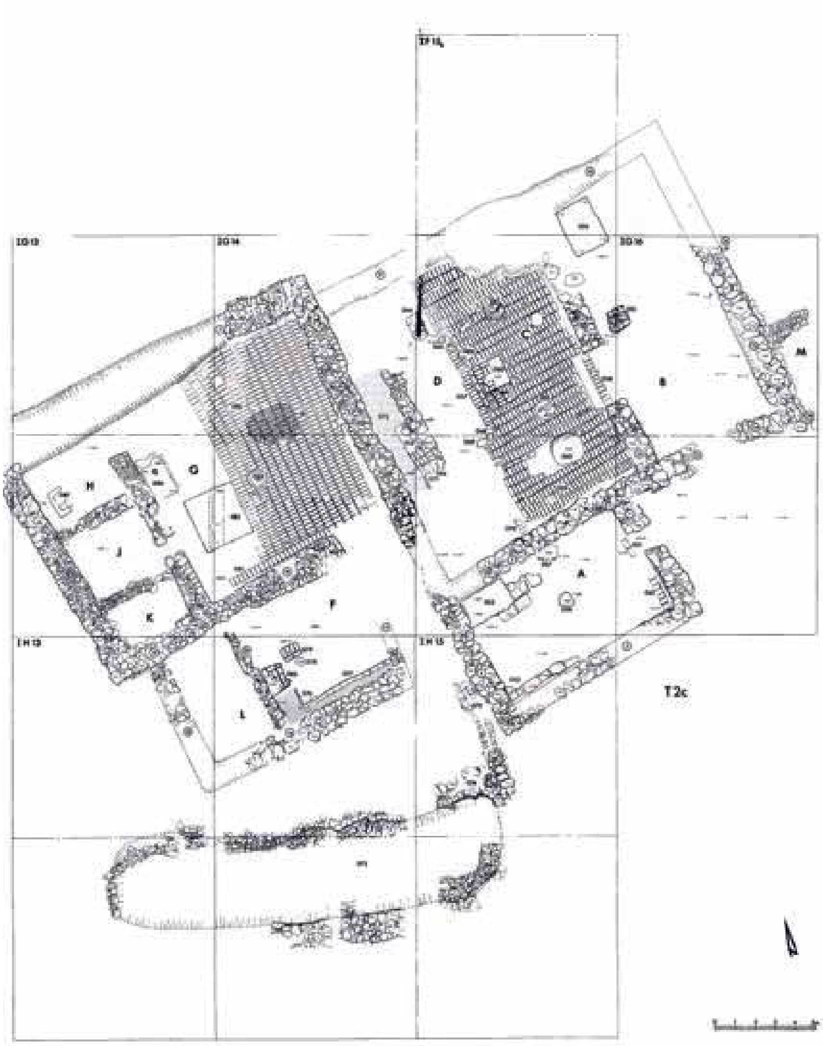
▲ Fig. 200: Detail of temple T 3b. Source: Metzger 1991: Tafel 41.



◄ Fig. 201: Temple T 2. Source: Metzger 1991: Tafel 19.

The eastern temple

The eastern part of the double temple consisted again of courtyards B and C, the latter now equipped with the special area D and room A. The main area of the temple was once again exclusively accessible via courtyard B, and again the users reached courtyard C and now area D as well, solely via this passageway. It seems that the builders took into consideration the special modifications to courtyard B. Presumably, it was used in all seasons. At Kamid el-Loz, these encompass periods of heat, rain, and heavy snowfall. Corresponding to this demand, according our interpretation, the builders carefully laid out courtyard B with a weatherproof stone-plaster floor. A stone installation in the middle of the passage indicates that further activities took place in this sector. Courtyard C seems to have again been the main area of the eastern temple; it is its size, its protected location, its installations, the establishment of the special area D, and the overall building effort devoted to this section that led us to our interpretation. Most of the installations in this part of the double temple were set up in courtyard C:

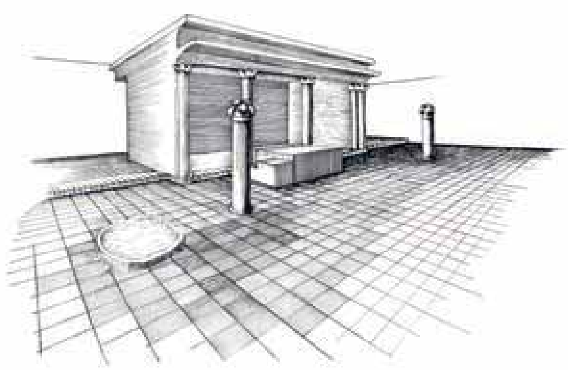


stone bases that might have once carried wooden columns (see the reconstruction in fig. 203), podia built of brick, and fireplaces. Moreover, the builders obviously considered the local seasonal weather conditions and the demands an open area had to fulfill under these conditions. The courtyard was equipped with an elaborated brick-plastered floor, which facilitated also the use of courtyard C throughout the year. Even more care was invested into the furnishing of the special area D, the only area that was roofed with a wooden construction. Room A, located south of and abutting the southern wall of courtyard C as before, was again equipped with its own entrance, had benches placed at its eastern small side, and had a podium set up along the walls inside the room.

▲ Fig. 202: Temple T 2. Source: Metzger 1991: Tafel 19.

The western temple

The new needs of the temple users compelled them to set up the second building, the western temple, so that it structurally resembled the eastern one. A small corridor formed the entrance to the western part of the double temple, passed room F, and led straight into courtyard G, which was the largest unit in the western complex as courtyard C was in the eastern building. As was the case with courtyard C, the area was laid out with a brick floor. Moreover, the builders equipped courtyard G, as they did courtyard C, with a variety of installations: a stone base, a fireplace, a bin made of brick and stone and plastered with a clay cover, and a clay podium. Vestibule F contained a podium made of brick and a bench along its southern and eastern wall, and room H west of courtyard G was equipped with a fireplace.

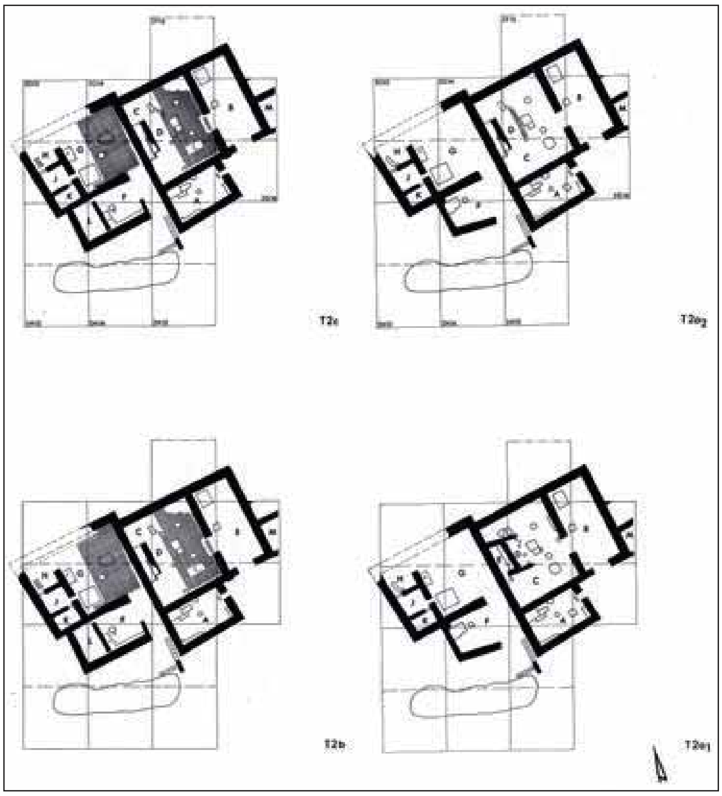


► Fig. 203: A detailed reconstruction of temple T 2. Source: Metzger 1983: 72, Abb. 37.

The basin outside the temple
A large basin, which the builders placed south of the western temple, was new and obviously needed only during the temple T 2 period.

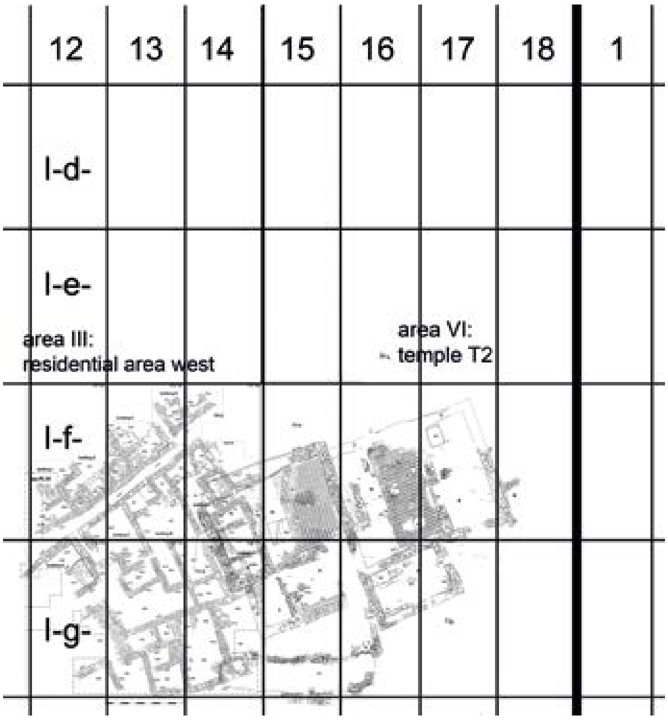
Modifications of both structures over the course of time
Over the course of time, the double temple experienced some modifications to its layout. The eastern temple's sanctuary C/D was further subdivided in phase T 2a, creating area E. In the western temple, room L was given up, installations were covered or dismantled, and new ones were built. The stone floor of courtyard B and the brick pavements of courtyards C and G were now covered with a thick layer of clay. Based on our understanding that the courtyard was used in all kinds of weather – rain in spring and autumn and snow in the winter – this modification came as a surprise. The former waterproof protection on the floors seems more reasonable to us; the reason behind that change thus awaits an explanation.

Temple T 2: A short summary
The inhabitants of *Kumidi* and the users of temple T 2 obviously had different needs concerning the utilization of the cultic realm than those who worked in and with temple T 3. A second temple building, if we accept that functional classification, was needed rather than "service rooms" around temple T 3. The development of temple T 2, according to our interpretation, would have been the result of major changes in the kind of activities carried out, which were now distributed over two buildings, and in the meaning of the cultic realm – that is, in the scope of power of those responsible for the cultic activities at *Kumidi*. The space needed by the temple's representatives had grown. The growing visibility, according to our current understanding, should be seen as a result of the growing power of the temple elite and their interest in making the temple recognized as an extraordinary building and thus as the seat of a powerful institution. This interpretation is supported by structural changes we observed in the neighbored residential area. In order to build the double temple, some of the residents in the neighboring area moved – that is, some of the residents lost their houses to make space for the new building project. How this procedure was organized – whether the residents left their homes voluntarily or forced – is still an unanswered question. We will come back to this question when we deal with the residential areas (chapter 8.8.1). Another question open for debate concerns the ways in which both buildings functioned and were used. Was the double temple used for one or several gods? Did only one or several different rituals take place there? Was each part of the double temple utilized



▲ Fig. 204: Temple T 2 in its phases. Source: Metzger 1991: Tafel 19 and Tafel 20.

► Fig. 205: Temple T 2 within the city. Sources: Archive Heinz; Metzger 1991: Tafel 19.



at the same time or was each part used individually at different times and for different reasons? So far, we do not possess any written evidence, which could inform us about the religious affairs at *Kumidi*. We are currently discussing possible methodologies that might allow us to elicit such insights by the analysis of the material remains alone.

Temple T 2 was, like its predecessors, a solidly built monumental structure. This, however, did not protect the building from the fate that most of its predecessors previously experienced. Layers of ashes, burnt brick, and burnt wooden remains all over the double temple's site indicate that this complex was also hit by a major blaze and burned down.

8.7.3 The last temple building, T 1, was built: On the same spot, of same type, using the same techniques and building materials, and only slightly modified in form and size (LBA II c. 1400/1350 – 1200 B.C.)

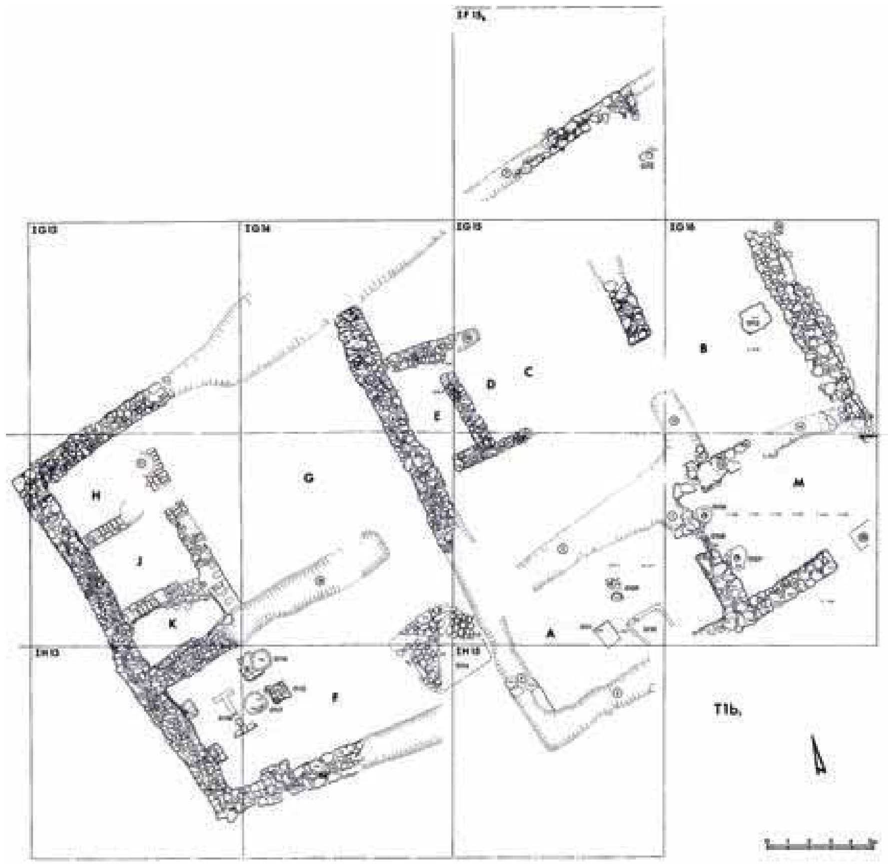
After the burning, the area was cleaned up. Once again, did the settlers from *Kumidi* reactivate the traditional site of the temple and set up a new, and this time the last, cultic building in and for the Late Bronze Age city of *Kumidi*, temple T 1. The burning destroyed neither all the buildings' walls, floors and installations nor the knowledge of the builders concerning the layout of temple T 2.

Temple T 1 was more or less a copy of its predecessor; the only modifications and extensions were based on the new needs of its users, who kept the design of the double temple and only slightly amended its outline. They brought the northern walls into alignment and made the double temple thus look like one large unit. The eastern temple was enlarged by an additional small room, M, just east of room A, which now constituted the central access to the eastern part of the double temple, while area E at the time served as a depository for bronze figurines.

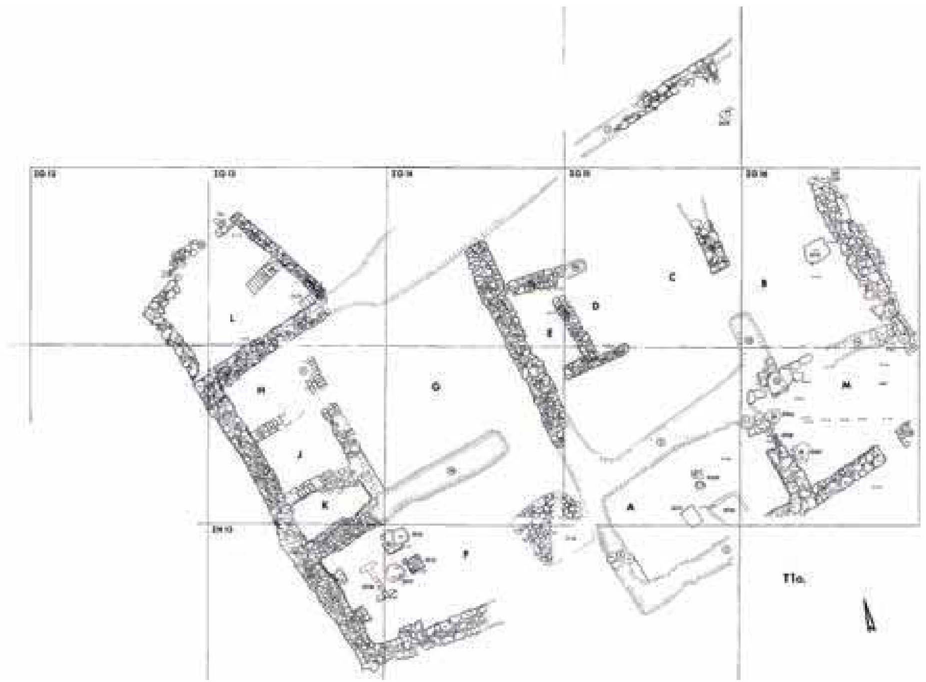
Room F of the western temple was transformed into one large unit, and during phase T 1a the builders added another small room, L, to the northern side of the western temple.

At the end of the Late Bronze Age, the western row of rooms, H – J – K, burned down (Metzger 1991: 198-199). Temple T 1, however, did not share the violent fate of its forerunners. It was not destroyed by burning but was

simply abandoned and allowed to decay at the time when the Late Bronze Age city of *Kumidi* was abandoned and urban life at Kamid el-Loz came to a halt.



◄ Fig. 206: Temple T 1b. Source: Metzger 1991: Tafel 21.



◄ Fig. 207: Temple T 1a. Source: Metzger 1991: Tafel 21.

8.7.4 The Late Bronze Age history of the temples: A short reflection on what happened at Kumidi

In the temple area, we have a story of building, burning, and rebuilding; of decay; and finally of abandonment, which is all in all not unlike the story of the fate of the palaces.

Temple T 3 **late LBA I**	**Temple T 2** **LBA I / LBA II**	**Temple T 1** **LBA II**
burned	burned	*allowed to decay*



► Fig. 208: Overview of the development of temples T 3, T 2, and T 1. Sources: see figs 199-207.

Just as in the palace area, the builders and rebuilders of the Late Bronze Age temples constructed the new buildings on the traditional site of the old. In both areas, the new settlers kept the spatial design of the former Middle Bronze Age city of Kamid el-Loz but, at the same time, utilized new building types that did not continue the old and the known customs. We are at present discussing why these new building types were needed, whose needs they served, and how and why it became possible especially in case of the temple to change the layout of a building that served the functions of a traditionally rather conservative institution. The motivations of the builders must have been varied. One aspect of the building concept, the visible combination of the old and the new traditions, we can already understand by referring to studies from the social sciences. The combination of the known and the new obviously reduces the fear of the unknown and makes it easier for those affected to accept new customs. The new building types and the new interior designs of the temple buildings T 3, T 2, and T 1, according to my thesis, were the materialized expressions of new ideas, new options, and new needs with regard to the cultic practices and their exercise as well as the presentation of the temple – and the institution behind it – as outstanding. Those responsible for the building, especially of temples T 2 and T 1, obviously had the means at hand to enlarge the temple and to make it now, more than before, a highly conspicuous landmark within the city and in the surrounding countryside. Space is, according to sociological studies, one of the most potent resources for presenting power. Using and designing space in public contexts is a sign hardly to be overlooked. The building of the double temple should thus be considered as a symbolically important act. The elite and representatives of the temple developed a new style of representation, and it will become interesting to go into more details concerning the political history in which *Kumidi* was then involved. Finally, yet importantly, however, we should also reflect on the question of whether the change in temple types and sizes had to do with changes in the

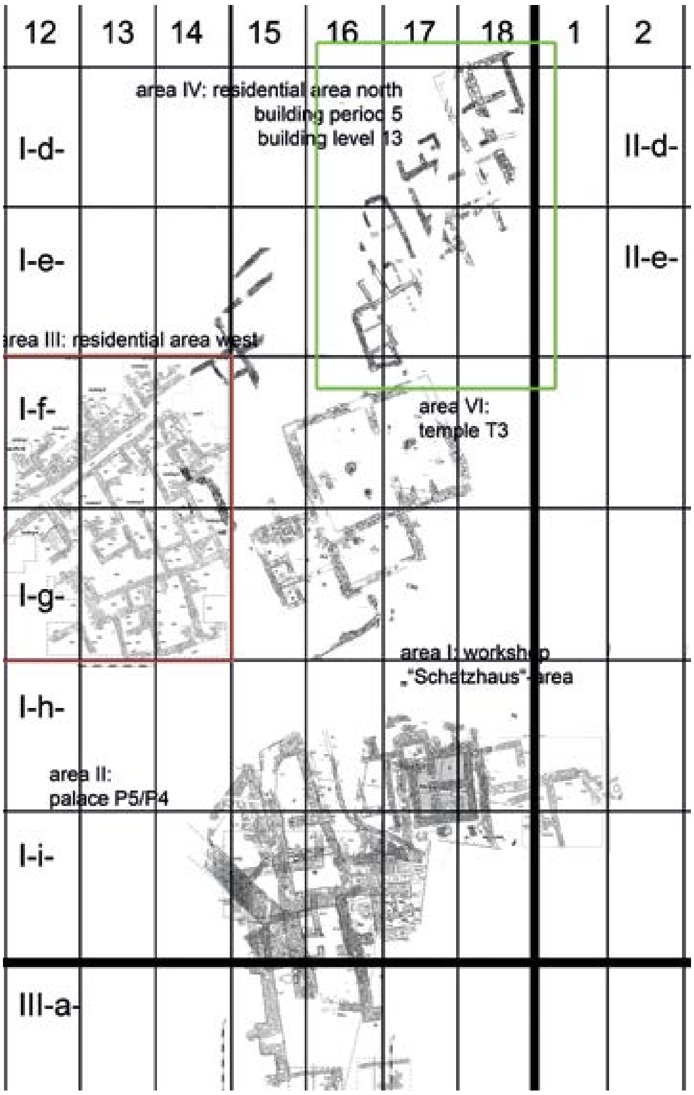
religious affairs of the city – namely, if other gods than before – and thus a new local pantheon – were introduced at that time. This question remains extremely difficult to answer as long as we do not have any written evidence at hand that informs us about the religious affairs at *Kumidi* at the time.

8.8 The settlers ensconced themselves in the new urban surroundings: Three living areas were built up

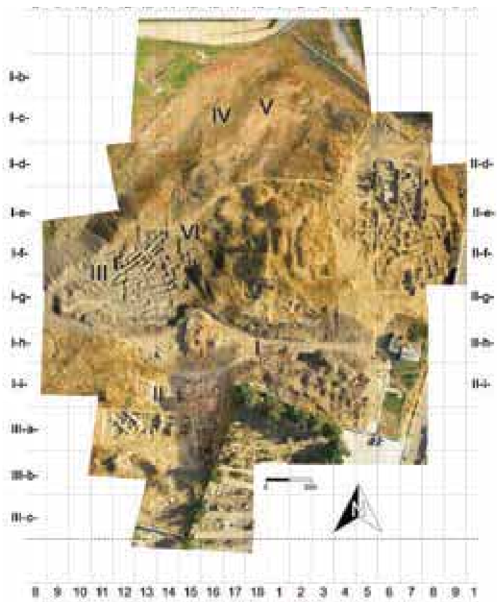
When the settlers of *Kumidi* set up their Late Bronze Age residential districts, they chose three areas to live in.
In the constructional configuration of the west and the north, the residents followed a custom that originated at least as far back as the Middle Bronze Age. Once again, they set up their houses in the immediate vicinity of the temple. (We do not yet know how the neighborhood of the temples was designed in the east and the south; further excavations will hopefully clarify this!) A third residential area (residential area east) emerged later during the LBA period on the so-called east-slope of the tell (see fig. 221).

8.8.1 Living west of the temple district (LBA I – LBA II c. 1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.)

When we excavated the western residential area, initially it was difficult for us to recognize where one house ended and the next one began. This bafflement was due to the special



◄▼ Figs 209, 210: The location of the residential areas during the Late Bronze Age. Sources: Archive Heinz; Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 2; Metzger 1991: Tafel 39; Echt 1984: Tafel 14.



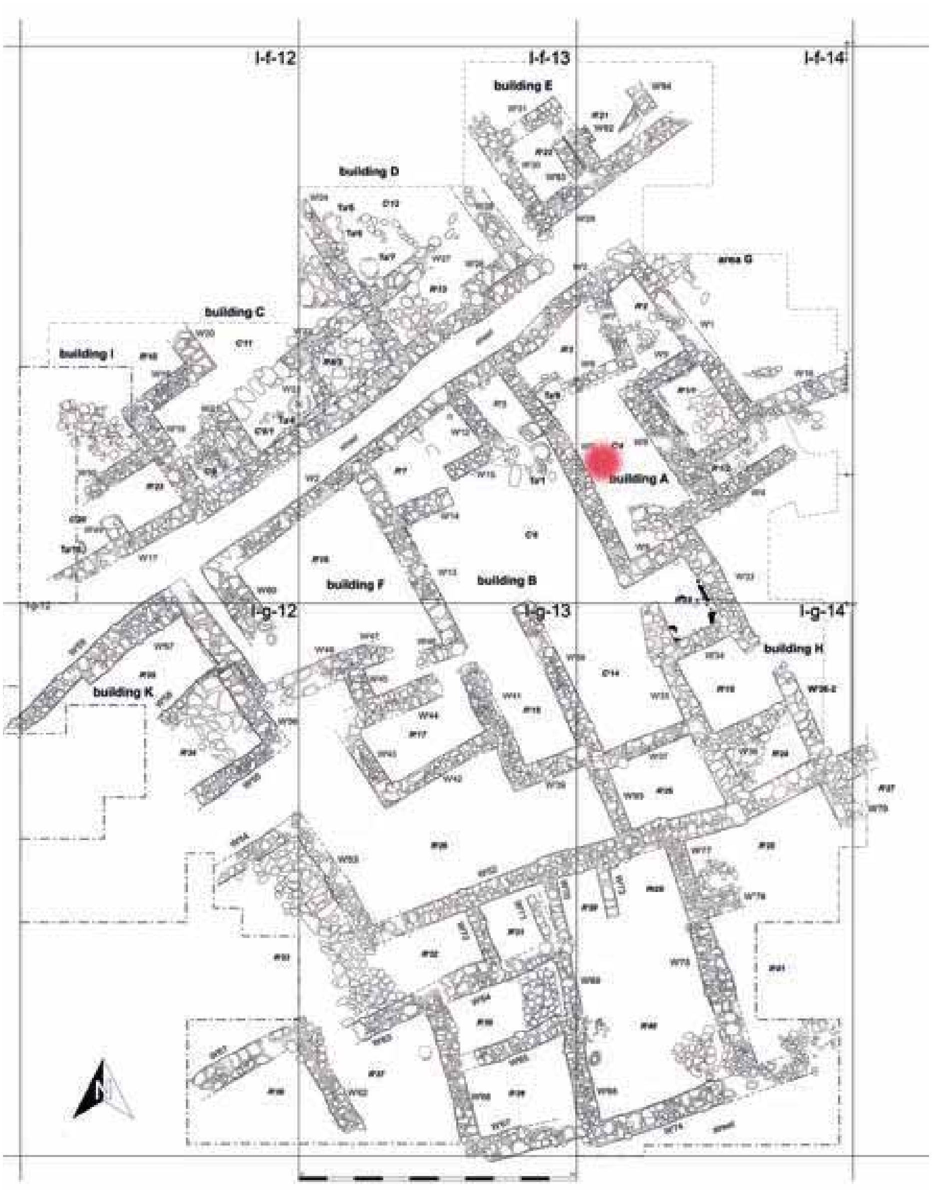
method of the houses' construction, called "agglutinative," which means that every house is structurally connected to its immediate neighbor; houses share walls and merge. This structural design, however, was interrupted by the small central alley of about 1.50m in width, which divided the settlement into a northwestern and a southeastern area. As a central thoroughfare this alley likely was frequently used. Especially during the rainy season, it was thus important to keep the passageway open. The settlers obviously considered this. They spread out a floor cover that consisted of small stones, a technique that allowed the water to seep away and thus enabled the settlers to use the alley even during the winter and the rainy season. Concerted action in setting up this residential area should thus be assumed. The agglutinative building as well as the development of the residential areas' spatial design, including the construction of the passageway, required continuous consultations of the builders – that is, the cooperative coordination of the inhabitants' activities. We excavated at least nine to ten houses so far, all of more or less the same form, size, and type. All houses were courtyard buildings. They all were built with the same building materials and according to the same technology: the lower part of the walls consisted of stone; the top of the walls were made with brick. As a rule, the floors of the rooms and the courtyards were made of hard-packed clay, and only in particular cases the users laid out the floors with carefully smoothed stones.



► Fig. 211: Overview of the residential area west. Source: Archive Heinz.

A short recap of the history of the area:
The Late Bronze Age houses in the western area were built over the older MBA II residences, of which we have uncovered wall remains so far, but also the mass grave, set into the decayed MBA II remains. The chronology of the successive utilization of this habitat generates a question, that still awaits an answer: Did the residents know the former fate of their habitat? Did they thus know that building A, set up in area I-f-14, was built over the burial pit that was constructed there during the second phase of anomie?
It remains thus to be clarified if the location of the residence was intended or random – but once again were the living and the dead placed spatially close to each other.

All residences in the western residential area contained work areas and *tannours*. In some cases, we found, still *in situ,* the tools for food preparation:



◄ Fig. 212: The site plan of the western residential area. Source: Archive Heinz.

stone vessels, mortars, and grinding stones such as the installation in the courtyard of house B.

Fragments of two complete and thus still usable clay vessels, left on the stone floor in the middle of room 1/1 of house A (see fig. 216), constituted another surprising finding.

For about 150 years, the inhabitants lived in this residential area. They modified and changed the layout of their houses continuously. They enlarged courtyards, scaled rooms down, removed walls and set up new ones, and closed entrances and moved them to other parts of their houses. The spatial design, however, and the layout of the



◄ Fig. 213: The western residential area and the mass burial in the MBA II context. Source: Archive Heinz.

► ▼ Figs 214, 215: Household tools *in situ* in house B. Source: Archive Heinz.

overall area was maintained, and throughout the years this district did not show any external signs of violence. At the end of the Late Bronze Age I (LBA I, 1550/1500 – c. 1400/1350 B.C.), though, a first far-reaching change occurred. The settlers abandoned houses I, C, and D north of the alley (see fig. 212) and A, B, and area G south of the alley and allowed them to slowly decay, while the ruins were first still used





sporadically for household activities. *Tannours* and fireplaces in the area, for example of houses D and C, indicate these activities.

Parts of the abandoned area had then been used for setting up the new cult building, temple T 2. The doubled ground plan thus extended into the residential area and this issue triggers the question: Had the people left their homes for this ambitious venture of the elite?

Some of the houses that were located further to the west and set up south of the alley, however, remained unaffected by these conversions. Settlement activities here continued for another 200 years and were only given up when the city of *Kumidi* was deserted at the end of the Late Bronze Age II period (c. 1200 B.C.).

The development of the western residential area and the visible remains of human actions pose a variety of questions. When we were discussing the history of the temple building, we raised questions about this abandonment: was it voluntary or forced? Was it due to a form of structural violence that did not destroy houses but rather the social order – the communal togetherness, neighborhoods, and homes? We are still working on this problem and the contexts described above add another facet to the abandonment process: what happened that made the inhabitants of the western residential area leave behind their kitchen inventories, their tools, their pots, and their personal belongings instead of taking it with them? Many reasons are possible; we are working intensively on developing an explanation, and we have some suggestions for future directions for our research. Did the people leave their houses, not knowing that they wouldn't come back, thus leav-

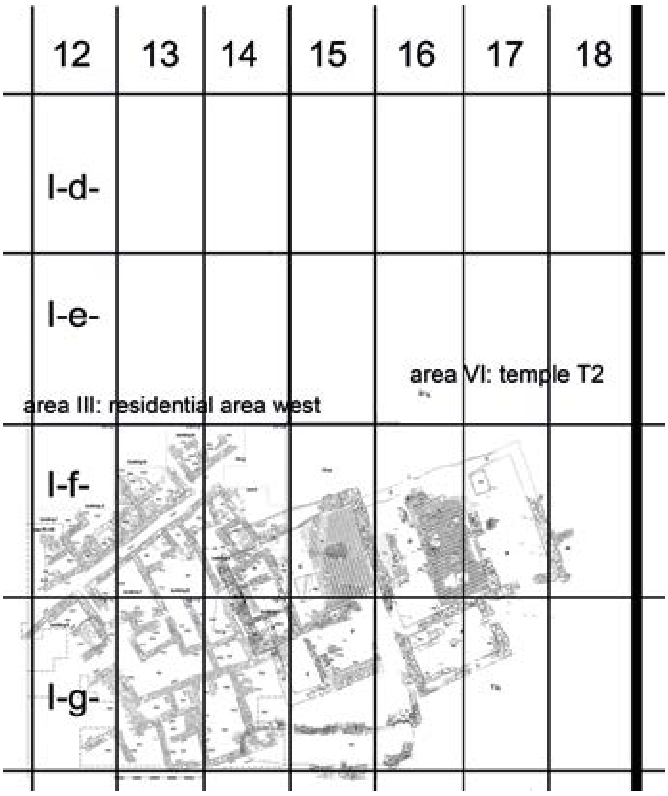


◀ Fig. 216: Vessels in situ and reconstructed, house A, room 1/1. Source: Archive Heinz.

ing behind things where they were? Were the people forced to leave their houses hastily and could thus not take anything with them? Did the inhabitants abandon the objects in place when they left their houses because they did not need them anymore? We learned that the southwestern part of the settlement was still occupied after some of the houses had been abandoned. Why did none of the neighbors take care of the abandoned but still equipped houses, especially since the building system of the houses suggests a close connection between neighbors? Were the houses proscribed because of a negative aura, an oath, an official interdict against entering them? Our future research will hopefully shed some light on these still open questions.

8.8.1.1 A very brief and concluding look at the intermixture of houses and the temple

The residential area and the temple clearly were interconnected beyond the facts already mentioned above. Although the temple burned several times, the isochronic living houses, even in the temple's immediate neighborhood, according to our current knowledge, never did! The residential area thinned out and the temple area increased. To explain why this distinctive settlement



◀ Fig. 217: The temple T 2 and the residential area. Sources: Archive Heinz; Metzger 1991: Tafel 19.

history developed as it did and what the intentions of the residents were or what situations arose is another one of the focuses of our future research.

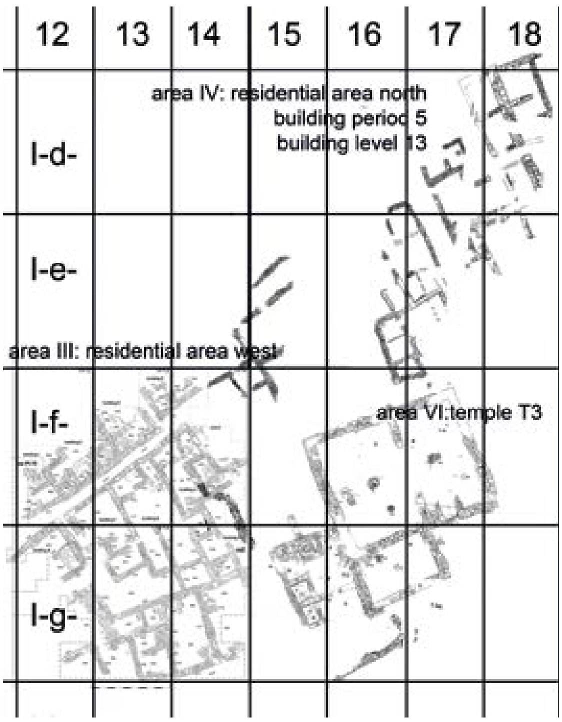
8.8.2 Living north of the temple district (LBA I – LBA II c. 1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.)

The builders of the northern residential area set up their houses (building period 5, building level 13, beginning of the LBA I period) in the area of the burnt and decayed remains of the former MBA II residential houses (MBA II, building period 6, building level 14; see chapter 6.1.3.2). They did not use any of the older structures and whether these structures were no longer visible or other reasons made the disuse of the older structures necessary remains an open question.

The isochronal houses in the west, which were structurally connected to the houses in the northern district, however, were visible. Together, both areas formed a single large, residential habitat with comparable building types, building techniques, and building materials used.

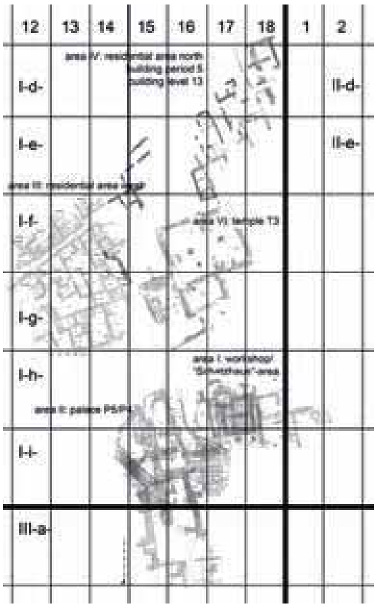
As in the west area, the settlers in the north modified and altered their residences repeatedly over the time before the area was given up and allowed to decay at the end of the Late Bronze Age period (Hachmann 1989: 56ff.). The similarities in form between both residential areas, however, did not correspond *in toto* with the functional ones. On the one hand, the previous excavators from the University of Saarbrücken (Hachmann 1989: 56ff.) found that the settlers in the north also used their residential area as artisan district, which included a frit-workshop and a metal processing area in area I-e-16/17 (Hachmann I F 15).

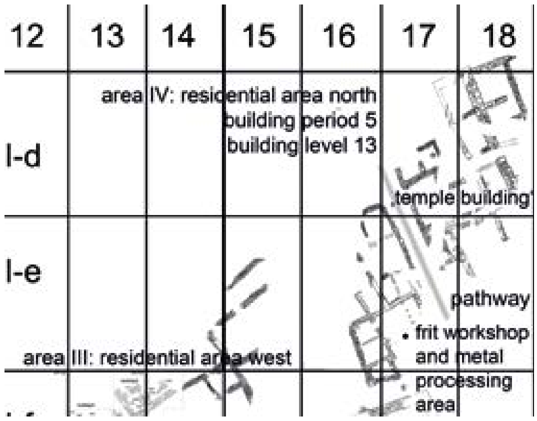
On the other hand, they interpreted the building east of the pathway in area I-d/e-17/18 (grid Hachmann I E 15/16) as temple (Hachmann 1989: 57 and Metzger 1991: 220). The main argument for this designation was the design of the stepped façade of this building, which, according to the excavators, was characteristic of a temple of the time (Hachmann 1989: 57).



► Fig. 218: The northern residential area, building period 5, building level 13. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 14; Metzger 1991: Tafel 39

A proper illustration of this feature has not yet been provided by the previous excavators; the initial publication of the results is still pending and a more detailed analysis of this idea is needed. This "temple" would have existed contemporaneously with temple T 3, burned down as did temple T 3, and had never again been rebuilt. Instead, according to the excavators, the settlers doubled the size of the temple in the southern area and set up temple T 2. The northern "temple" area then remained fallow land until the end of the Late Bronze Age.





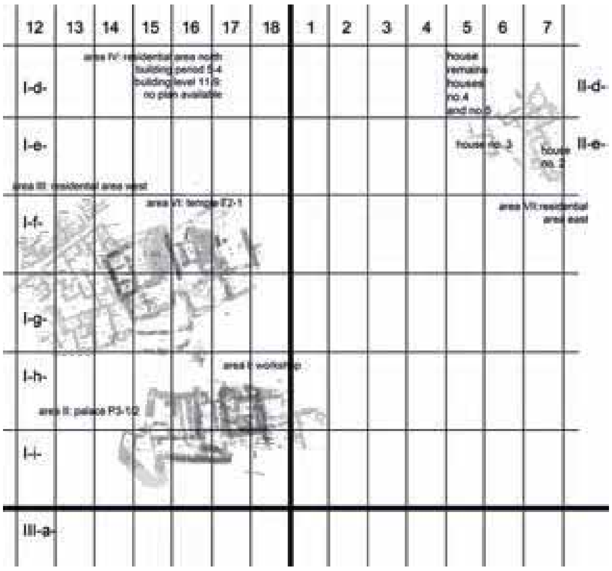
◄ Figs 219-220: Overview and detail of the northern district. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 14; Metzger 1991: Tafel 39; Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 2.

The contexts as well as the previous excavators' interpretation of the function and the chronology of the building lead us to several further considerations. Did the settlers in the west and those in the north give up the specific parts of their residential areas at the same time? Was the partial abandonment of the living quarters in the west as well as in the north of the city connected both to the burning of temple T 3 and the burning of the "temple" in area I-d/e-17/18 as the previous excavators suggest? They interpret the construction of the double temple T 2 not only as a substitute for the burned temple T 3, but connect its building with the need to provide as well a substitute for the burned so-called temple in area I-d/e-17/18. This interpretation broadens our own attempts to understand and explain the need for a double temple, which first rather focused on details of the ritual and cultic activities. The previous excavators' interpretation of the function of the building in area I-d/e-17/18 needs additional and more solid arguments, and we expect these to be presented with the final publication on this area by our colleagues from the University of Saarbrücken. One detail that might support the interpretation of the complex as "temple", however, was already presented: the burning and the subsequent abandonment of this complex. Throughout the settlement history of Kamid el-Loz known so far, as a rule the blazes always hit the buildings of "official" function. While our excavations in the residential area west (I-f/g-12 – 14) support this impression, here did we not find any signs of burning, either for the period of the earliest beginnings, the EBA IV / MBA I development or for the following Middle Bronze Age II period, did the destructions in the residential areas in the north hitherto leave a different impression. In contrast to the west, houses here burned down several times, both during the MBA I as well as during the MBA II period (see chapter II.2 and chapter 6.1.3.2). The burning of the northern residences made us wonder, if our explanatory approach was tenable – namely, that fires primarily destroyed the areas and buildings of official function and not the residential areas. But now, our approach would be sustainable if we consider the houses in the north indeed, as our colleagues suggest, as part of a northern temple precinct (see I-d/e-17/18; grid Hachmann I E 15/16), and as such destroyed by the blazes that hit the temple. If this is true, burning would indeed have been restricted to areas of "official" function. We are, of course, aware that fur-

ther evidence based on facts is needed to either support or to disprove this interpretation.

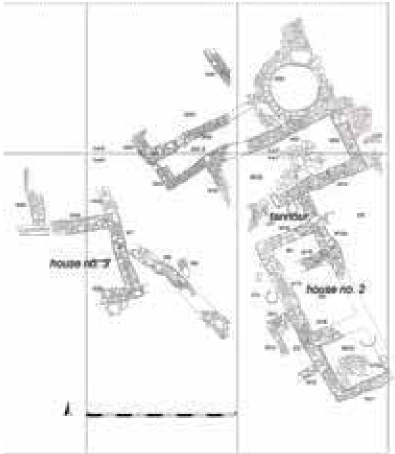
8.8.3 Residing in the east of the city during the LBA II period (transition LBA I / LBA II c. 1400/1350 B.C. until the end LBA II c. 1200 B.C.)

At a time when the residential areas in the west and in the north had already been occupied for about 100 – 150 years, the settlers, created a third residential area, located on the so-called east slope (early LBA II period, about 1400/1350 B.C.). So far, a single house, no. 2 is known to a larger extent, another house, no. 3 has partly been captured (see figs 221 – 223) (for house no. 1 see chapters 9.1.1 and 9.2.2); further remains indicate the existence of at least two more buildings (houses no. 4 and no. 5; see BAAL 14, 2010: 33-38, fig. 14) in this area. Its building materials, the building techniques used, the wall types, and the wall dimensions all resemble the ones of the houses in the west and in the north. *Tannours* indicate household activities. With only one house known, the evidence for a comparison between the residential areas is still scarce, but nevertheless, as we will see, most significant. We notice several structural similarities among the architectural remains of the west, the north, and the east, and we recognize apparent differences. The "quality" of the walls, the precision with which the walls were built, and the exact alignment of the walls distinguish this building from the houses in the west and in the north and resemble rather the building quality of the temple or the palace. As far as we know, the house on the east slope was not of the courtyard building type. This is a remarkable deviation from the local custom. All other buildings, whether houses, temples, or palaces, utilized this architectural design throughout the entire Late Bronze Age. The courtyard house epitomized far more than just a specific building type; it represented a certain concept of household organization (see chapter II.2). The courtyard constituted a central place of social life for the household. When this central place was missing, as was the case in the east slope architecture, the household activities required a different organization. That is, the unconventional form of the house set up on the east slope represented a different concept of household and household activities, evidenced here by the placement of a *tannour*, whose location initially came as a surprise for us. Strikingly, the builders set up this installation in a passageway, the location possibly functioning as a kind of windshield, where a protecting courtyard was missing



► Fig. 221: Overview of site and location of the structure on the east slope. Sources: Archive Heinz; Metzger 1991: Tafel 43 (T 2a1) and Tafel 44 (T 1b1); Adler/Penner 2001: Planum 2.





◄▲ Figs 222, 223: Detail and plan of the structure on the east slope. Sources: Archive Heinz.

(more *tannours* were later located here during the Iron Age II period, set up into the decayed remains of the LBA II house no. 2, see chapter 9.2.2).
A further difference in the conception of communal life, social order, and organization was expressed by the detached location of the house, its location isolated from the surrounding instead of being integrated into a structured neighborhood.
At least two major features thus separate the architecture and spatial design used on the east slope from the residences in the north and in the west: both the type of building as well as its construction as a detached living house. I consider these deviations to be most meaningful concerning the social order and organization of the communal togetherness. According to the empirical and theoretical insights of the social sciences, the architectural order, among other things, symbolizes aspects of the social order. In the present case, according to our interpretation of the architectural features on the east slope, this social order was characterized by social distance and difference instead of homogeneity and closeness. The community living in the east was organized quite differently from those communities living in the northern and western residential areas. Why this was so may be explained

by further excavations whose results may shed light on the identity of the people who lived in this district of *Kumidi*: Do we have here a residential area of an administrative or cultic elite?

8.8.3.1 Three residential areas: A short reflective summary

The builders of the houses west and north of the temple created two districts that were characterized by the homogeneity of their houses – by sameness, not by variation. Similar building materials and techniques; similar floor plans and building types (the courtyard building); comparable sizes; and identical installations displayed the communal lifestyle and built order via cohesion and unity, not by giving prominence to single houses. The rules in force over hundreds of years presented the community as equal, a concept, according to our interpretation, which at the same time stood for the need, the wish, and the choice of the inhabitants to represent themselves as a socially homogeneous group of residents in these areas. The residential area in the east of *Kumidi,* according to our current thesis, was organized according to a different concept and idea. The different quality of the artisanship, the building material, and the wall structures of the currently known building indicate both the potential as well as the need to invest more effort into the building here than into the construction of the western and northern residential areas. Furthermore, different options and needs for the form and organization of the houses separated the eastern neighborhood from the western and northern ones. Those responsible for the architecture and spatial design of the east slope decided not to build the locally typical courtyard building and not to integrate the new building into an integrated and closely bonded neighborhood. Creating the extraordinary – the unique house form and its atypical location as a detached house – was the underlying concept for the spatial structuring of the east slope. Difference and distance, not homogeneity and sameness, so my interpretation of the social parameters behind the form of the features, was the underlying social and representational concept of communal organization here.

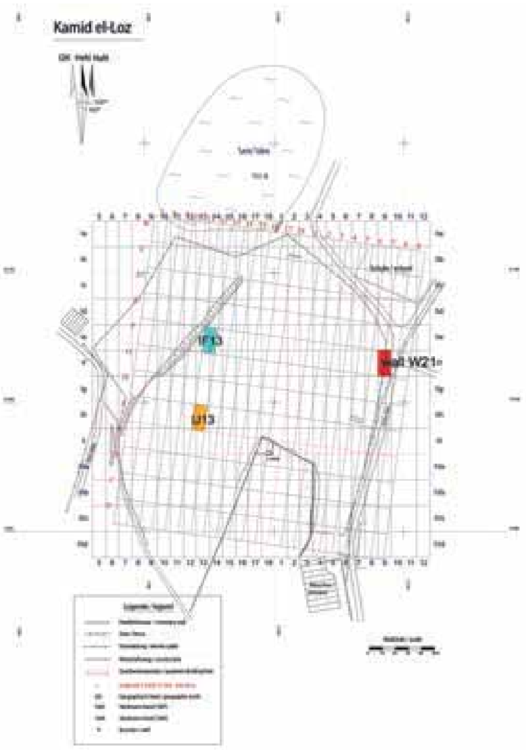
Three residential areas, set up in Late Bronze Age *Kumidi*, reflected thus two different habits of communal life, expressed by different building types and spatial design and symbolizing, among other things, two different concepts of social order and togetherness. The differences in the conceptions of the residential areas are, however, not the sole opposing spatial concepts that characterized the spatial design of *Kumidi*. To review briefly, on the one hand, the palace was always segregated from the surrounding settlement; the temple, on the other hand, was always integrated into the city space. Both institutions represented themselves by means of different if not opposing concepts. As mentioned above, we are currently intensively exploring the reasons behind the differing spatial conceptions of the residential areas and we wonder if the residency of different social groups and the carrying out of different activities led to the illustrated variations in house construction and spatial design.

Regardless of the differences in spatial design, building types, the residency of different social groups, and carrying out of different functions, however, the residents of all three districts left their houses at the end of the Late Bronze Age, when temple T 1 as well as the palace P 1 and the entire city were abandoned.

8.8.4 And at the very end, another still unsettled issue: Was the Late Bronze Age city of Kumidi fortified?

A positive answer to this question cannot yet be given. There are some indications, however, which might hint at the existence of a protective measure or a sign that symbolized, among other things, the power and potential of the ruling ones to ensure the safety of the local community. To date, the original excavators of Kamid el-Loz only recorded individual wall sections, which were captured in areas I J 13 and I F 13 (Hachmann 1968:70) and interpreted as fragments of the city wall. We have, however, neither reliable blueprints at hand nor a detailed description of the defense system to which these walls might have belonged. We are thus awaiting the final publication of the results of these excavations by our colleagues from the University of Saarbrücken to finally decide if the city and its residents were protected by a city wall or if the safety of the town was ensured by alternative provisions.

In 2002, we, the team of archaeologists from Freiburg and Kamid el-Loz, excavated another section of a monumental wall of about 3m width, stone built in its foundations, with a brick built top (wall W 21), located in area II-f-9, southeast of the detached house (BAAL H.S., VII, 2010: 73; fig. 44). The width and monumentality of the wall resembles the ones known from the temple and palace buildings. The pottery we found in the immediate proximity of the wall corresponds so far solely with the painted vessels known from the palace area. However, the structural characteristics of the wall and its location on the eastern edge of the settlement area may at the same time very well indicate that we have here an eastern sector of the Late Bronze Age city wall. Another structure, the western wall of palace P 4 has either formed a part of the city's fortification or served primarily the protection of the palace (see chapter 8.3.8; fig. 181).



▲ Fig. 224: The location of defense structures. Sources: Archive Heinz; Hachmann 1968.

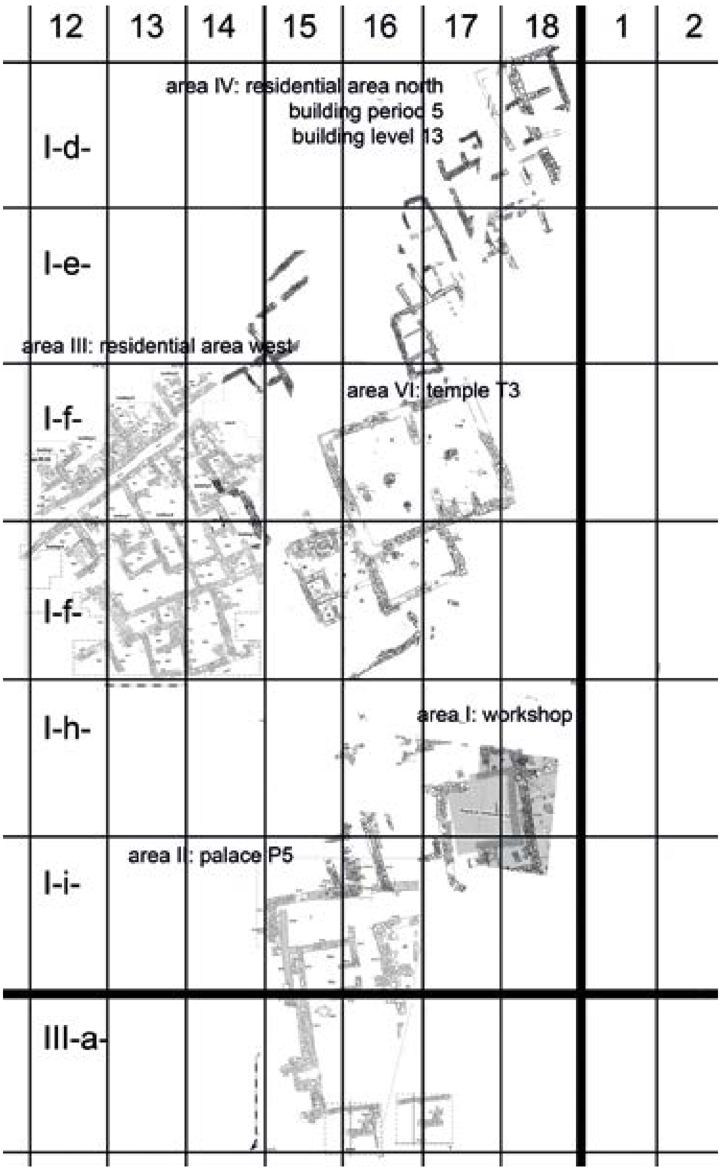


◄ Fig. 225: Wall W 21. Source: Archive Heinz.

8.9 Late Bronze Age *Kumidi*: A long-lasting period of complex developments. How do we correlate the numerous intra-urban developments, or, what happened when?

Over the course of about 300 years or approximately 16 generations, the inhabitants of *Kumidi* set up five palaces, three temples, three residential areas, and presumably a city wall. They were the founders of the new city of *Kumidi* and the inhabitants at the end of urban life at Kamid el-Loz. They experienced burning, destruction, and decay as well as the reconstruction of the old buildings and the invention of the new building types. Three hundred years of Late Bronze Age urban development of *Kumidi* shows both a changing building history and its manifestation in a variety of differing cityscapes. The first excavators of Kamid el-Loz, the archaeologists from the University of Saarbrücken, worked out a stratigraphic and chronologic correlation of the events that formed these cities of *Kumidi*. For the basic and complex argumentation of these correlations, see the analysis of Rudolf Echt (Echt 1984). We follow their correlation and add our newly gained insights into the development of *Kumidi* wherever possible. We thus try to correlate the numerous events and try to figure out whether the various building activities, destructions, and abandonments occurred simultaneously or consecutively. We seek to reconstruct which temple, palace, and residential area were in use at the same time; which building was destroyed when; and how and when each city visibly changed in its outer appearance. In short, we try to reconstruct the variety of cityscapes that developed over the course of approximately 300 years at *Kumidi*.

▼ Fig. 226: City map 1: Kumidi at the beginning of the LBA I period. Sources: Archive Heinz and figs 150-224.



8.9.1 Correlating building activities: A first attempt

Beginning of Late Bronze Age I / City map 1
The reurbanization of *Kumidi* started at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (LBA I, about 1550/1500 B.C.). It was the last reurbanization process that occurred at Kamid el-Loz. The new settlers set up their **houses in the north and in the west**. In both areas, according to the results of the previous excavators from the University of Saarbrücken concerning the northern residential

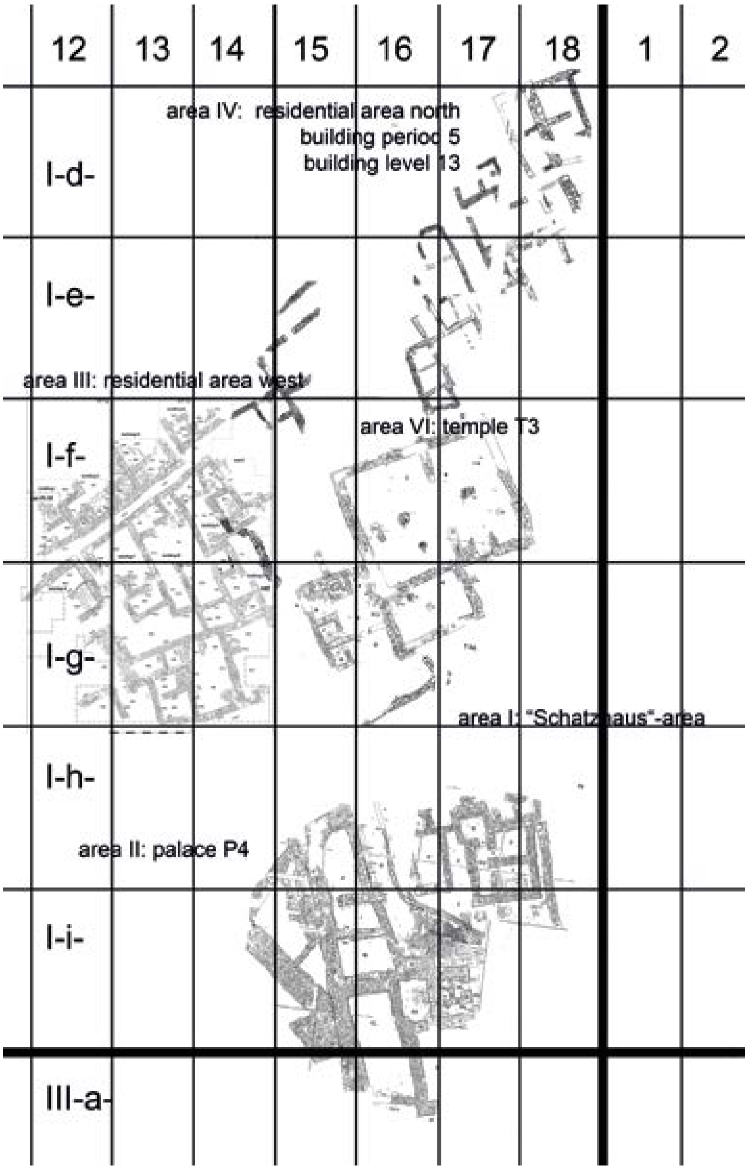
area and our own results concerning the western residential area, the houses were set up in the immediate vicinity of the cultic buildings. While the **temple** (cultic building) **in the northern district** was not numbered by the excavators, they designated the temple in the west as **temple T 3**. Residences and religious activities were again integrated, while the palace elite continued to strictly ensure the segregation of their residence, **palace P 5**, from the rest of the settlement. In two areas, the inhabitants practiced crafts. Close to the cultic realm in the north, they located a frit and a metal workshop, while the other metal workshop was structurally integrated into the palace precinct.

After a certain period of yet unknown duration, the **palace P 5 burned down**. All other areas remained unaffected by this blaze and continued to be used.

▼ Fig. 227: City map 2: Kumidi during the late LBA I period. Sources: Archive Heinz and figs 150-224.

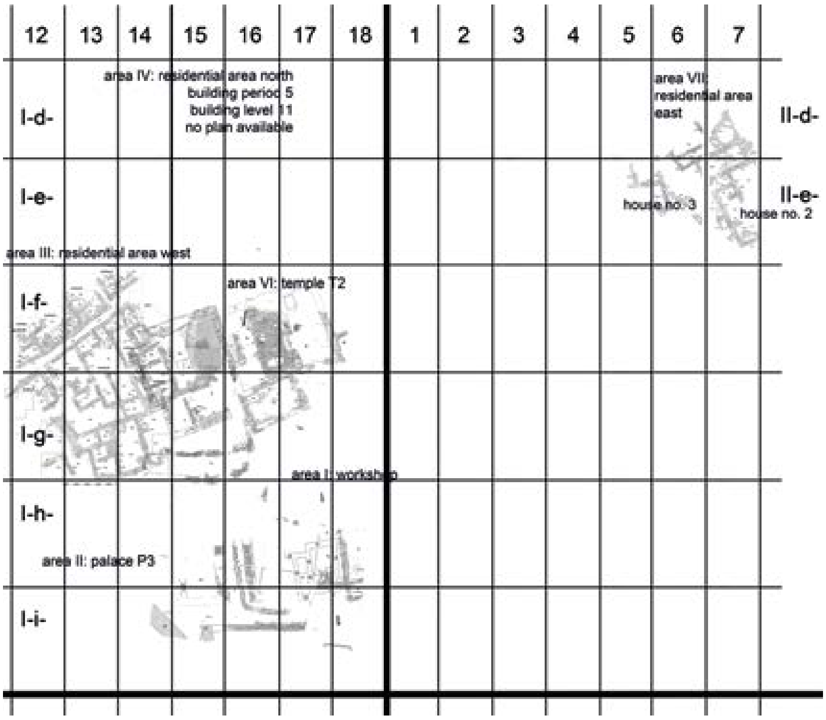
Late phase of Late Bronze Age I / City map 2

Well-ordered life in *Kumidi* was obviously not possible at that time without a palace, and, so we conclude, without an earthly power elite. The ones responsible ensured that the burnt palace P 5 was built over on the same spot with a new monumental structure, **palace P 4**. The newly set up palace represented a completely new building style. The introduction of the new form was at the same time accompanied by an expansion of activities carried out in the palace. For the first and only time did those residing in the palace use the seat of the earthly elite not only as a residence for the living but also as a final home for their deceased, whom they had buried in the so-called "*Schatzhaus*." The accommodation of the burial place necessitated a fundamental change of the workshop's layout but did not yet lead to the giving up of its function. Metal processing then took place in the open area to the east of the "*Schatzhaus*". The new palace's form and function seemed, for the time being, to have existed trouble-free alongside the old architectural configuration – **temple T 3** and the **western and northern living areas**, the latter including the **workshops** and the **local temple**, were still in use. For palace P 4, the available chronological data suggest a period of use of about 150 years. We estimate, accordingly, that about 7 – 8 generations lived in *Kumidi* without experiencing a violent attack on



their city – or at least none that left behind visible traces. This period of a seemingly safe life within the city, however, ended when some of the residential houses in the west were abandoned and **palace P 4**, **temple T 3**, and **the temple in the northern residential area** burned down.

Transitional phase of Late Bronze Age I / Late Bronze Age II / City map 3

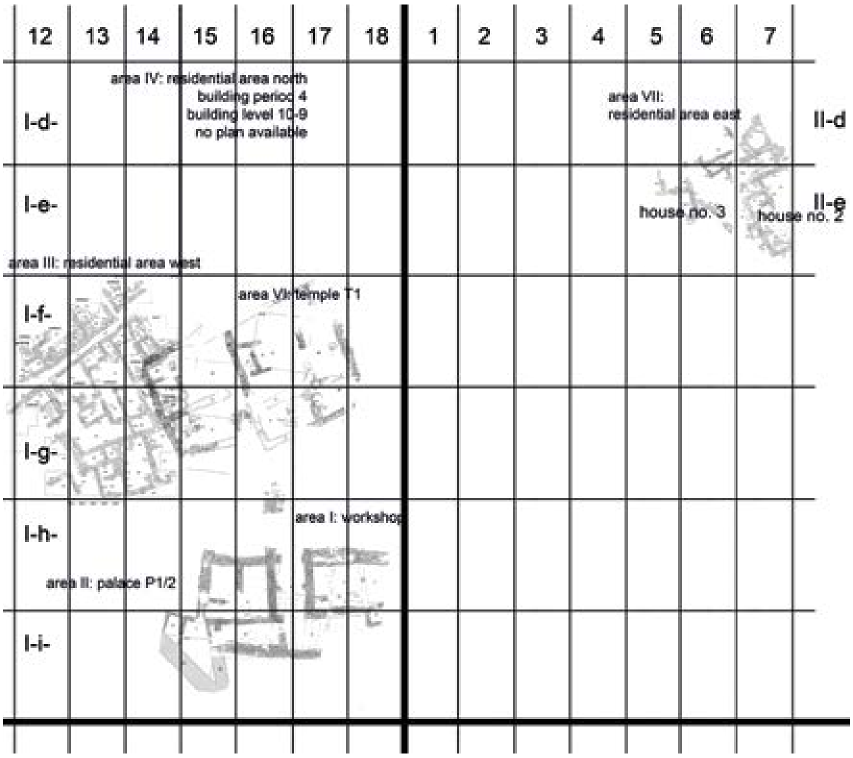


▲ Fig. 228: City map 3: Kumidi at the transition of the LBA I/II period. Sources: Archive Heinz and figs 150-224.

The extent of destruction was vast. Nevertheless, unlike during the Middle Bronze Age, the blaze did not force the people to leave their homes. Regular household activities continued in the westernmost and southern parts of the **residential area near the temple T2**, and some household activities were carried out sporadically in the decaying remains of the deserted houses. The inhabitants continued as well to stay in the **northern residential area**, but did not rebuild the burnt cultic realm. This habitat was abandoned and allowed to decay. To abandon a cultic area (if there was indeed such an area in the northern residential district, which remains to be clarified) is a remarkable step or decision in a cultural and communal context in which people above all uphold tradition.

A further change or rather an innovation occurred. The inhabitants now founded an additional residential area on the east slope, with different building types, characterized as single detached and non-courtyard houses!

Remarkable changes occurred as well in the palace and temple habitat. **Palace P 3**, although only scarce traces of its northern section remained, no longer resembled palace P 4 in its layout. The temple area however, showed an even more surprising development. Its rebuilders retained the layout of temple T 3 but doubled it when setting up **temple T 2**. Major innovations, changes in the functions of areas and changes in buildings layouts thus occurred in the rebuilding of *Kumidi* side by side with the retaining of older traditions, the preservation of the spatial design of the former phase of urban life. Especially two of the changes or innovations start questions: Was the loss of the (so-called) cultic precinct in the north and the doubling of the cultic precinct in the center a random coincidence? Or was this an intentional development, as suggested by our colleagues from the previous excavation team? Was the giving up of houses in the west and the occupation of the then abandoned area by temple T 2 planned and initiated by the temple elite or was it a subsequent development? Whatever, all the care put into the rebuilding of the city and especially into the reestablishment of the palace and the temple could not prevent these buildings – palace P 3 and the double temple T 2 – from once again being struck and destroyed by a blaze.



▲ Fig. 229: City map 4: Kumidi during the LBA II period: the last stages of urban development. Sources: Archive Heinz and figs 150-224.

Late Bronze Age II / City map 4
As it was many times before, but now for the last time at *Kumidi*, the official buildings were restored immediately. **Temple T 1** was set up or rather temple T 2 was restored and rebuild with only minor modifications; it was numbered by the excavators as temple T 1 and located by the inhabitants and builders on the same base and in the same layout, size, and habitat as all the temples before.

Palace P 2/P 1 might have changed in type and layout, but the remains of the buildings P 3/P 2/P 1 were so sparsely preserved that a certain identification of the palaces' types is not possible.

All three residential areas were continuously occupied, daily life continued, and the areas were only abandoned when urban life at *Kumidi* came to a halt at the end of the Late Bronze Age II and the entire city was allowed to decay.

Conclusions: Life in Late Bronze Age Kumidi

Three hundred years of urban life are visible in the archaeological record by different signs, buildings, and events. Throughout the Late Bronze Age, the spatial design remained nearly the same, with one exception – the creation of the new settlement area in the city's east (LBA II). The same technical knowledge was present unaltered during these roughly 300 years; the way of building, the architecture, and the materials used remained the same as hundreds of years before. The architectural designs, however, were no longer comparable to those of the Middle Bronze Age, and even during the Late Bronze Age development, new building types and functions replaced the old and well-known. The needs and options of political and religious representation thoroughly changed. Our remaining task is now to clarify both who the ones were who needed these changes and why or under what circumstances either the continuation or the turning away from local customs was at all necessary or possible.

The third and last urban development of Kamid el-Loz (LBA I/II 1550/1500 – 1200 B.C., city 3): A short summary in table form

Period	**Evidence**						
End of LBA II c. 1200 B.C. end of urban mode of life in *Kumidi*, decay of the entire building stock							
LBA II	some houses lived-in **residential area west**	pottery **trench 2**	palace P 2 / P 1 **palace area**	workshop **administrative area**	temple T 1 **temple area**	residential area and workshops, building period 4, building levels 10-9 **residential area north**	residential area / living houses **residential area east**
LBA II / LBA I	some houses kept, some given up **residential area west**	pottery **trench 2**	palace P 3 **palace area**	workshop **administrative area**	temple T 2 **temple area**	residential area and workshops, building period 5, building level 11; no cultic realm **residential area north**	NEW: residential area / living houses **residential area east**
Late LBA I	living houses **residential area west**	pottery **trench 2**	palace P 4 *(elite burial, located in the Schatzhaus)* **palace area**	"Schatzhaus" and workshop area to its east **administrative area**	temple T 3 **temple area**	living houses, building period 5, building level 13; workshops and cultic building **residential area north**	-

Period	Evidence						
LBA I	living houses **residen-tial area west**	pottery **trench 2, west of the pal-ace area**	palace P 5 **palace area**	workshop **admin-istrative area**	temple T 3 **temple area**	living houses, building period 5, building level 13; work-shops and cultic building **residen-tial area north**	-

Further Reading:

I. Administrative area / workshop/ "Schatzhaus" area
BAAL 14, 2010: 63ff.; BAAL 15, 2011: 49ff; Frisch 1985; Miron 1990; Adler 1994; Mansfeld 2013

II. Palace area
BAAL 8, 2004: 111ff.; BAAL 10, 2006: 90ff.; BAAL 14, 2010: 56ff.; BAAL 15, 2011: 37ff.; BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 158ff.; Adler/Penner 2001; Hachmann et al. 1983: 28; Hachmann 2012

III. Residential area west
BAAL 8, 2010: 105ff.; BAAL 14, 2010: 46ff.; BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 114ff.

IV. Residential area north
Echt 1984: 50ff.; Hachmann 1989: 56ff.

V. Fortification
Hachmann 1968: 70

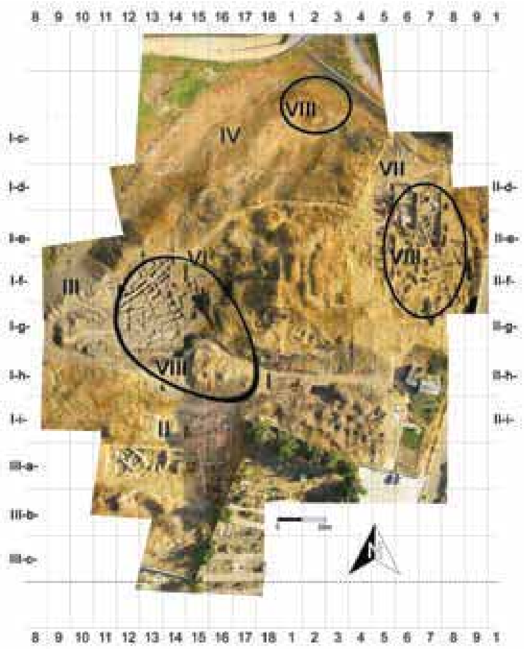
VI. Temple area
Metzger 1991

VII. Residential area east
BAAL 14, 2010: 33ff.

9. During the Iron Age, two processes characterized the development of Kamid el-Loz

Its new beginning as village site and, over the course of time, its alteration into a burial ground (IA I – III c. 1200 – 332 B.C.)

Iron Age	Iron Age I	Iron Age II	Iron Age III
1200 – 332 B.C.	c. 1200 – 1000 B.C.	c. 1000 – 539 B.C.	c. 539 – 332 B.C.



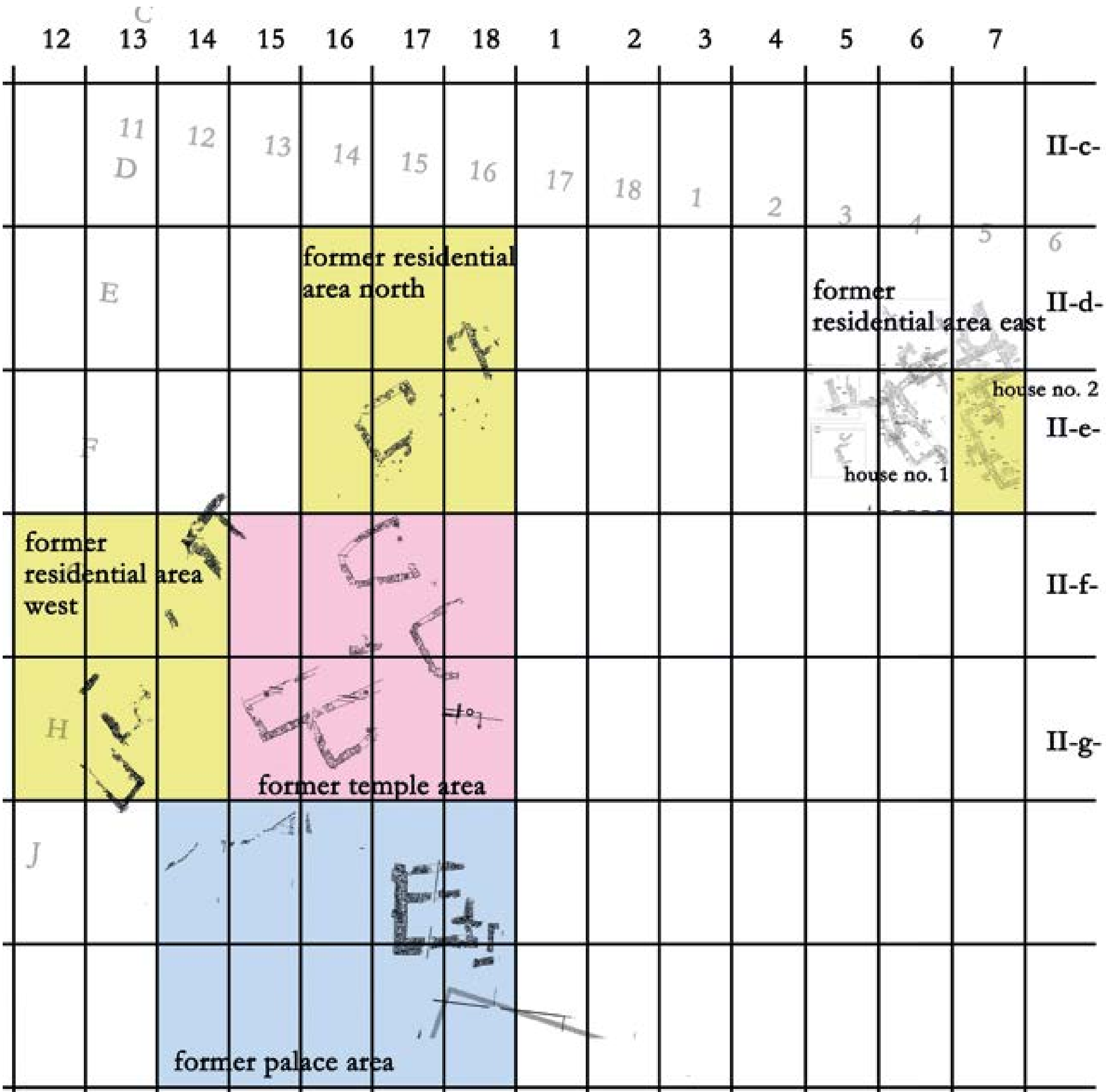
◄ Fig. 230: Overview of the site. Source: Archive Heinz.

After the settlers had given up the Late Bronze Age II city of *Kumidi*, the site was not only abandoned as an urban center, but also completely altered in form and function. Once and forever, the settlers terminated the urban lifestyles that had characterized the local communal life for about 550 years (which lasted from the MBA II period, c. 1750 B.C., to the end of the LBA II period, c. 1200 B.C.). The end of the Late Bronze Age marked the end of an epoch not only at Kamid el-Loz but also throughout the Levant, after which nothing was ever as it had been before. For more than 500 years the residents of Kamid el-Loz coped again and again with burnings, destructions, and phases of disaster and anomie without giving up the urban mode of life – that is, Kamid el-Loz as urban regional center. Each time the destructions were overcome and the urban life style was reestablished. In each case of destruction and disaster, the responsible authorities renewed elements of local tradition and origin. At the same time, they were successful in integrating new cultural components into the old. The end of the Late Bronze Age period, however, meant a definitive break with the past. The significant signs of urbanity, religious relevance, political power, and military and economic potentials – the temple, the palace, and the fortification of the site – were finally abandoned and the associated urban mode of life was terminated. An entirely new lifestyle developed, and new political structures and social orders emerged, so our interpretation of the material evidence of architecture and spatial design.

▼ Fig. 231: Iron Age I settlement, building period 3, building level 8 (built over the remains of the last LBA II city of Kumidi: palace P 2/P 1, temple T 1, the residential area north, building period 4; house 1, Iron Age I; house 2, LBA II, on the east slope). Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 13.

9.1 The new beginnings at Kamid el-Loz: The early Iron Age I (IA I c. 1200 – 1000 B.C.)

The then settlers of Kamid el-Loz, inhabitants of the former city, returnees or newcomers to the site, set up a large settlement, of which we excavated remains on the east slope (area VII), in the northern area of the site (area IV), and in the central part of the *tell* (areas I, II, III and VI, i.e. the former administrative/workshop/"Schatzhaus"area, the palace, the residential area west, and the temple district). Both the east slope and the northern area remained residential neighborhoods as before. (An overall plan of the latest LBA buildings in the northern area, building period 4, building levels 10-9 is not yet published by the excavators; Hachmann 1989: 54). The central area, in contrast, was completely altered both in form and in function compared to the spatial design and functional characteristics of the earlier Late Bronze Age urban *Kumidi*.

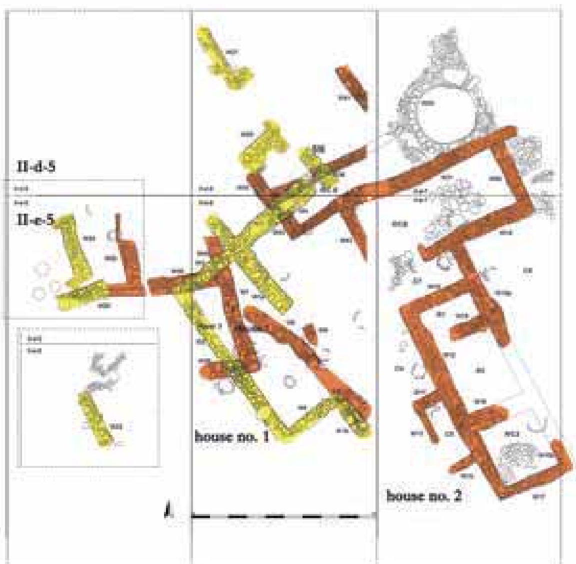


9.1.1 The new developments on the east slope: Iron Age I (IA I c. 1200 – 1000 B.C.)

When the resettlement of the east slope began during the Iron Age I period, remains of the older LBA II houses (color-coded red, figs 232 – 233 and figs 228 – 229) were still visible (and if they were not visible, then undoubtedly they were known, as the younger Iron Age development of the habitat will show; see the analysis of the Iron Age II development). Surprisingly, the settlers did not use any of these older remains at the outset of the new building activities. House 1, a residential building dating to this early beginning in the Iron Age (IA I, according to our pottery studies), was set up next to the older houses (nos. 2 and 3, LBA II, see figs 228 – 229). With regard to the construction design, the new settlers thus did not connect the new with the old. With a view to the house type chosen, the building technique used, and the building materials utilized, however, they were true traditionalists. Both the type of building, which we consider currently to have possibly been a courtyard house, and the building technique – setting up stone built wall sockets, manufactured of unworked stones of varying size, which served as the foundation for the rising brick masonry – conformed to the traditions practiced at Kamid el-Loz for centuries. House 1, consisting of at least six rooms and/or courtyards and equipped with several *tannours*, was moreover designed as a detached house, a method of construction that was initiated for the first time in the residential area of the east slope by the settlers of the Late Bronze Age city of *Kumidi*.

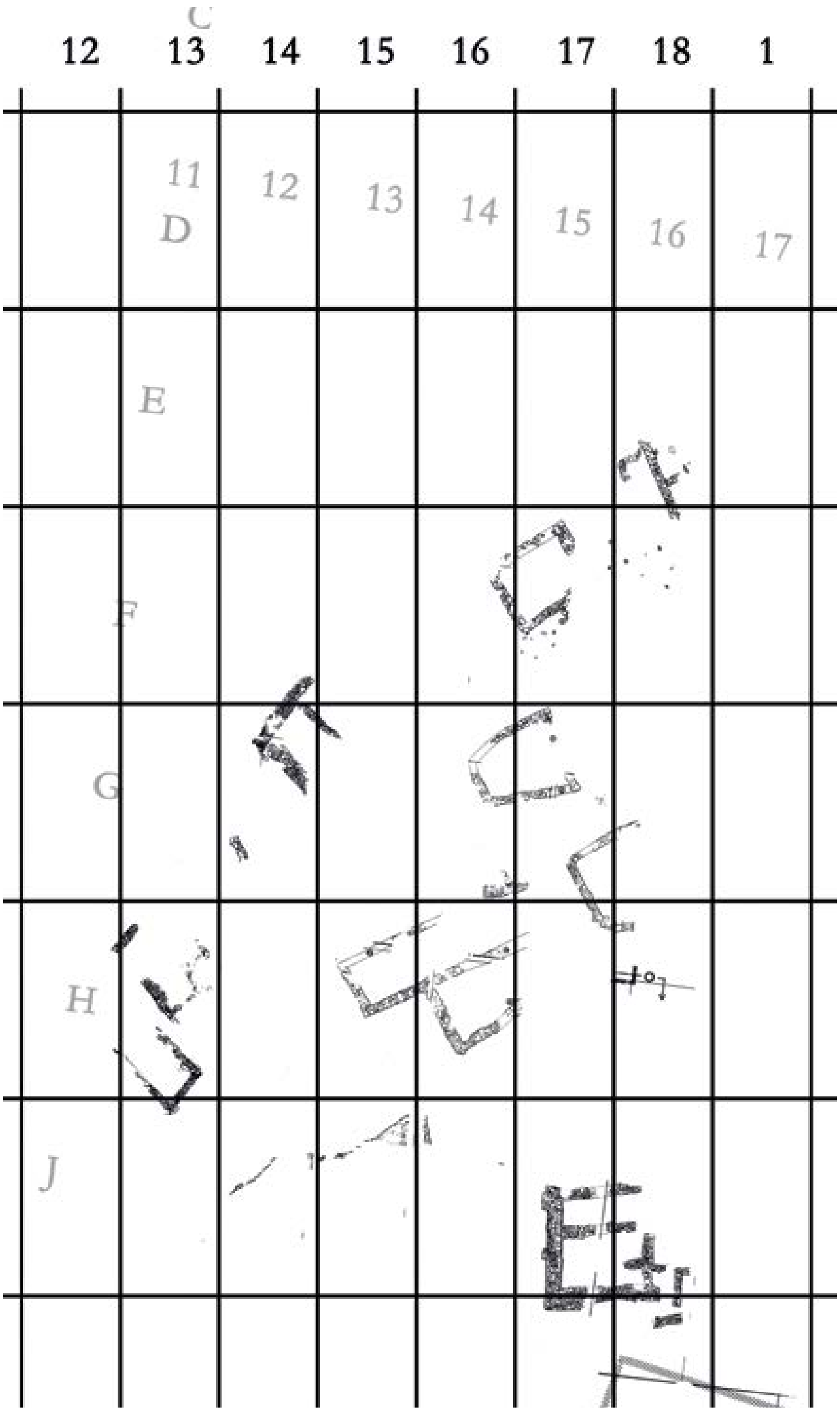
▼ Figs 232, 233: House 1, Iron Age I (and house 2, LBA II) on the east slope. Source: Archive Heinz.





9.1.2 The residential areas in the north and in the central part of the site: tradition and cultural innovation occurred side by side: Iron Age I (IA I c. 1200 – 1000 B.C.)

The archaeologists of the University of Saarbrücken excavated about eight or nine "buildings" or, rather, house remains, in the northern and central part of the settlement. According to the excavators' chronological research (the following information derives mainly from Echt 1984), these remains date, as house 1 on the east slope, to the beginning of the Iron Age I period. Stratigraphic observations assign the building remains to building



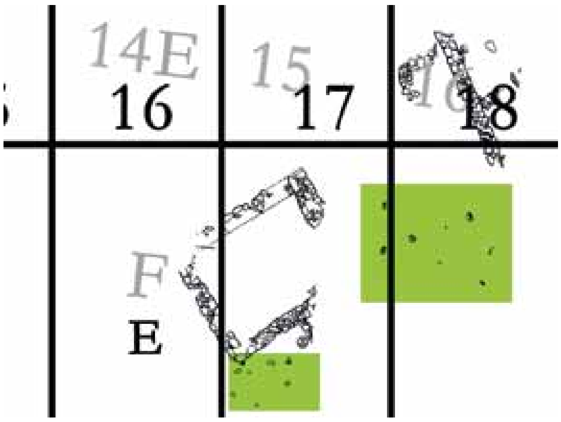
▲ Fig. 234: The Iron Age I site, building period 3, building level 8. Source: Echt 1984: Tafel 13.

period 3 and to building levels 8 and 7. Single-room houses were the preferred type at that time, but houses with two and probably more rooms were necessary as well. Due to the poor condition of the house remains, we can hardly specify if we are dealing with courtyard houses or other types of buildings. The houses, all built as detached structures, did not follow a homogeneous building type or ground plan; rather, the opposite was the case. A heterogeneous ensemble of house forms emerged; each building was "individualized." This observation holds not only true for the form of the houses but also for the building techniques applied and the materials used. Only some houses were built with stone foundations and brick wall superstructures as was the tradition at Kamid el-Loz for hundreds of years, while an innovation occurred with building period 3, building level 8, when the builders constructed for the first time at Kamid el-Loz post-hole buildings (Echt 1984: 48 and Hachmann 1989: 52ff.).

With regard to the houses' location within the residential area, the settlers did not adhere to one common basic regulation; rather, they obviously were free to locate their houses where they needed them or where it was suitable. Suitability might have meant being able to reuse older wall remains and thus minimize the time, workload, and building materials needed. We consider this aspect because the settlers of the northern area (as well as the central area), in some cases, diverged from the modus operandi on the east slope and integrated the older building remains of the habitat into their new houses.

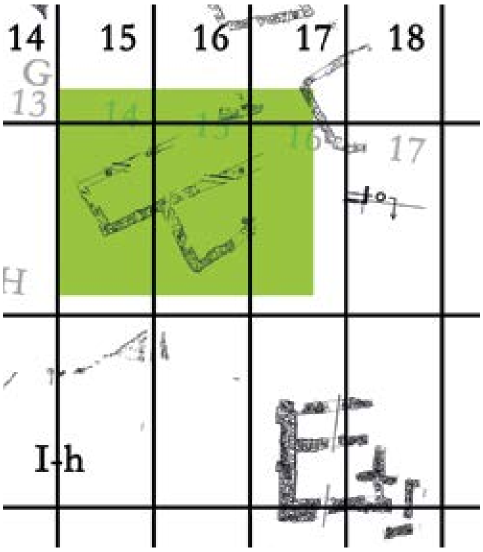
9.1.2.1 The northern area: Post-hole buildings and their functions

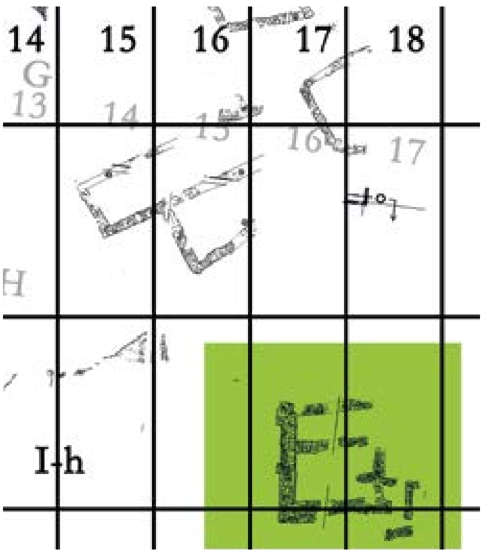
In between the stone brick built houses, the residents constructed the abovementioned post-hole buildings. We refrain from suggesting certain building forms for both structures, because all that was preserved are the post holes. What we can say, however, is that these structures were likewise set up as detached buildings. Installations, including pits filled with clay, indicate that the post-hole buildings served as workshops, according to the excavators (see Echt 1984: 46ff).



◄ Fig. 235: Detail of post-hole buildings, building period 3, building level 8. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 13.

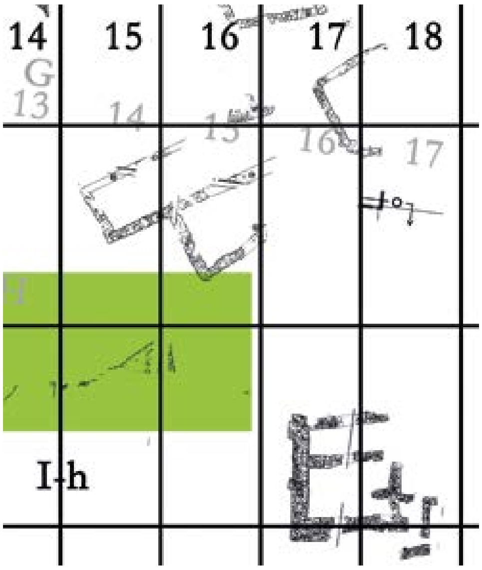
9.1.2.2 The central area: Breaks with the past in form and function distinguish the Iron Age I houses in this district from their Late Bronze Age II predecessors





◄ Figs 236, 237: Detail of the Iron Age I site, building period 3, building level 8, above and below. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 13.

Approximately in the middle of the maintained settlement's domain, the residents set up a house larger than those in the immediate neighborhood, encompassing at least two rooms, probably more. The excavators cannot determine the function of this structure (see Echt 1984: 46ff.); no installations or further indicators of other activities were preserved. There is one feature, however, that is interesting: The settlers located this largest Iron Age I building accurately into the habitat that for centuries had accommodated the temple of Kamid el-Loz (see fig. 231). In addition, another connection between the old and the new customs attracts our interest. Remains of the last palace structure, P 2 / P 1, lasted into the Iron Age I period. The settlers did not hesitate to help themselves, to take over the structures maintained, and to use the former palace building as a location for dwelling and carrying out household activities. Several *pithoi*, storage pits, and *tannours* set up in the building's small northern room as well as on the esplanade



► Fig. 238: Stabilization wall, building period 3, building level 8. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 13.

east of the building (Echt 1984: 47) indicate these functions and activities. The modification of the former palace building into an ordinary house indicates, even more clearly than building over the former temple area that the residents did not hesitate to divert the former palace building from its intended use, to destroy or to ignore the aura of a once iconic building, and to use it according to their new requirements.

New requirements also occurred in the transitional zone between the former palace and temple district. The slope obviously needed to be stabilized – at least that is how the excavators interpret the function of the irregular wall set up in the said area (Echt 1984: 47).

9.1.3 The Iron Age beginnings at Kamid el-Loz: A first overview

In all named areas, we found evidence for the resettlement of Kamid el-Loz at the beginning of the Iron Age I period. Using our analysis and interpretation of these material remains, we develop insights into the settlers' activities. Since our contributions are still to come, we will focus on formulating an outline of the social order and organization of the communal life at Iron Age Kamid el-Loz.

9.1.3.1 The material heritage: First insights, first predications

The detached house was the dominant design of the Iron Age I residential areas at Kamid el-Loz, where the spatial order, according to our current impression, did not follow any master plan but resulted in a conglomerate of houses, individualized in form, type, building technique, and location. The difference in form between the representational modes of the urban communities who built agglomerate residential areas and those who followed the concept outlined above in the Iron Age settlement is conspicuous. The underlying social aspects that made these differing concepts necessary is one focus of our ongoing research.

No iconic building equivalent to the temple and palace of urban *Kumidi* and their Middle Bronze Age predecessors was preserved in the Iron Age settlement areas excavated so far. What does this mean with regard to the social order as well as to the political organization? Were there no longer any worldly and religious elites? Or were there no longer any elites who needed such iconic buildings for their representational demands but who were nevertheless the power holders at Kamid el-Loz? Did a different system of power representation develop? Alternatively, was the communal organization and the regulations, enforcement, and control of the everyday life – the social interaction – organized completely differently than before at urban *Kumidi*? Do we no longer face a hierarchically organized community but an organization in which the members of that community decided jointly

about the regulations of their daily affairs? Did consultations instead of instructions now rule communal life, set the rules, fix the order, and regulate social togetherness? Who represented the community to those outside? The varying architectural stock and the differing spatial designs encourage us to postulate an entirely different system of social and political organization that might have developed at Kamid el-Loz during the Iron Age period. Again, we are looking at where the ideas came from to produce the new developments. How and why did this fundamental break with the older built heritage and thus, as we currently postulate, the underlying cultural, social, and political conditions, become possible or necessary? Where did the settlers come from? Did they know the former customs of building and organizing spatial design? Were they familiar with the former urban modes of life, politics, and the local hierarchical order? Did they intentionally ignore the aura and status of the former iconic buildings, the temple, and the palace? Did the then settlers just not know what the functions and meanings of the buildings were for their former owners? Or did these simply have no superordinate (auratic) meaning for the then inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz? As the reader may recall, we have seen similar dealings with the iconic buildings at Kamid el-Loz at the end of the MBA II period, when those remaining in the otherwise abandoned settlement built a small residential house over the ruins of the palace. One of our interpretations was that the settlers ignored or did not know the aura, function, and former iconic status of the palace. Both the dealings with the official buildings at the end of the Middle Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Iron Age show parallels in their results; the reasons behind the action of each group of settlers may, however, have been entirely different.

We thus see a variety of innovations that characterize for us the new beginnings at Iron Age I Kamid el-Loz. We postulate the development of an entirely new system of representation, and we assume that a quite different political organization emerged at the beginning of the Iron Age. According to our preliminary interpretation, a community structure developed where decision-making was jointly organized, although for hundreds of years before a strict and hierarchical social and political order dominated the local communal organization. One of the questions to be solved is whether these departures from the former habits and traditions are only seen as such by today's observers or if the settlers likewise perceived their lifestyle as "new", compared to former times. It is this consideration that is again closely bound to the question of where the settlers came from, whether we are dealing with newcomers or with people who were quite familiar with the former rules and regulations of daily life at Kamid el-Loz but had to begin their new lives under new auspices.

9.1.4 The end of the first Iron Age settlement was brought about again by violence

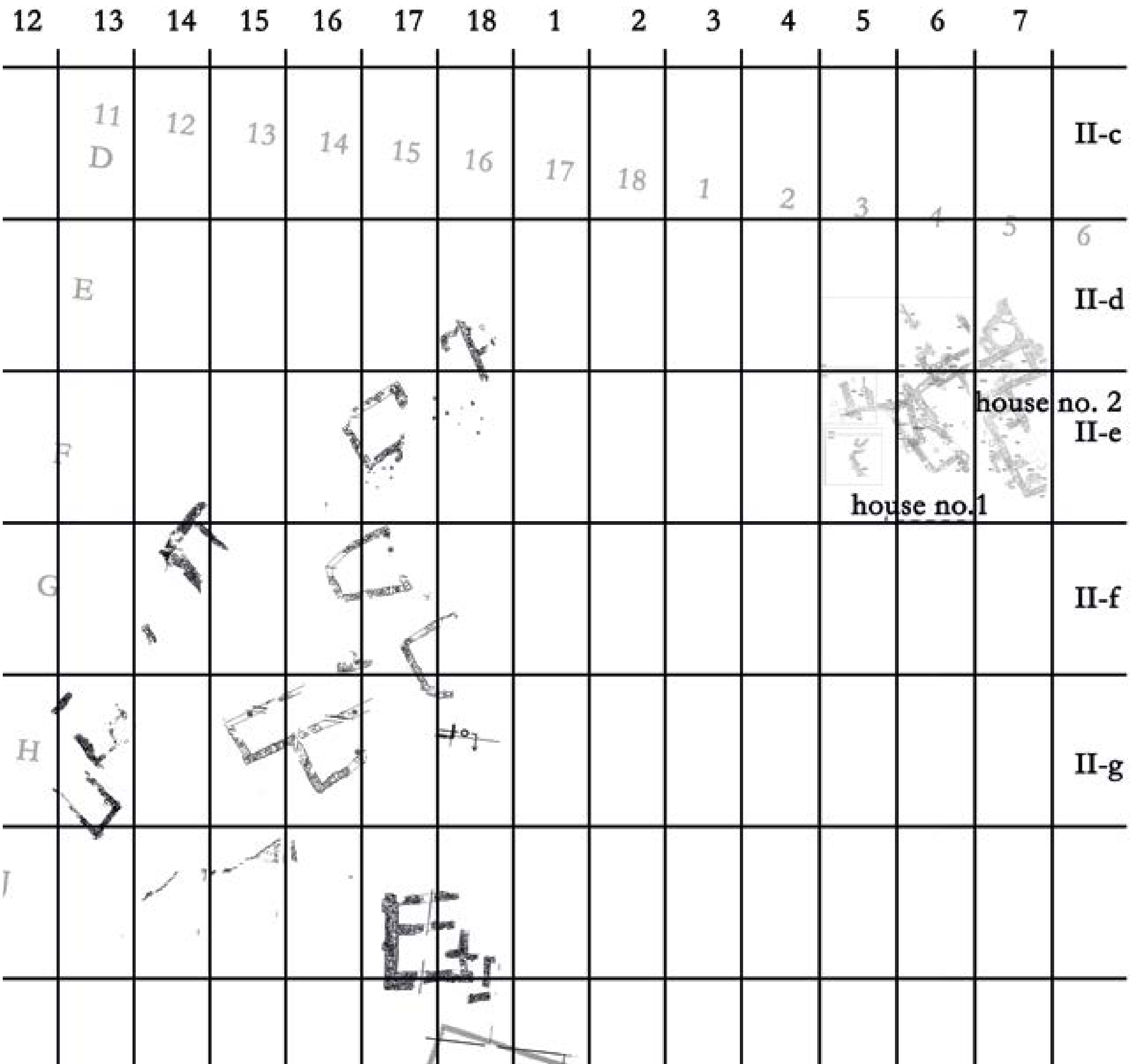
Around 1000 B.C., the first Iron Age colonization of Kamid el-Loz ended, where about ten generations had lived, seemingly without interruption, for some 200 years. A thick layer of ashes, covering the built remains in all so far known areas, indicates that this end once again was brought about by a heavy conflagration. Based on the state of preservation of the built remains we found in the course of our excavations, the buildings were burned,

destroyed, and allowed to decay; most of the people must have left their homes and abandoned the village after this incident.

9.2 After the burning, solutions as to how to live on in the burnt environment were found: Iron Age II (IA II c. 1000 – 539 B.C.)

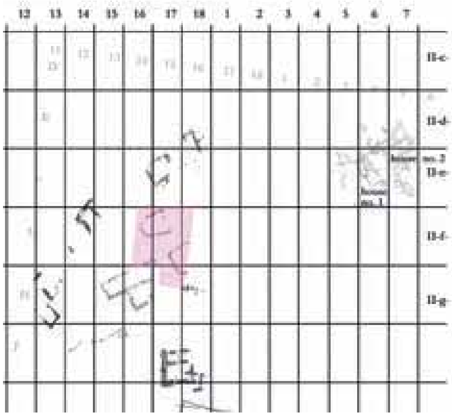
The burning of the first Iron Age settlement did not lead to an abandonment of the entire site, but once again the burning of the settlement had far reaching impacts on the future of the community. Resettlement started again, but the today's observer gets the impression that this resettlement developed only intermittently. Signs of human activities occurred in the northern and central areas (areas IV, I, II, III, and VI; see fig. 230), those areas were anew the center of the activities. The east slope (area VII) apparently was used just for sporadically performed household activities. For

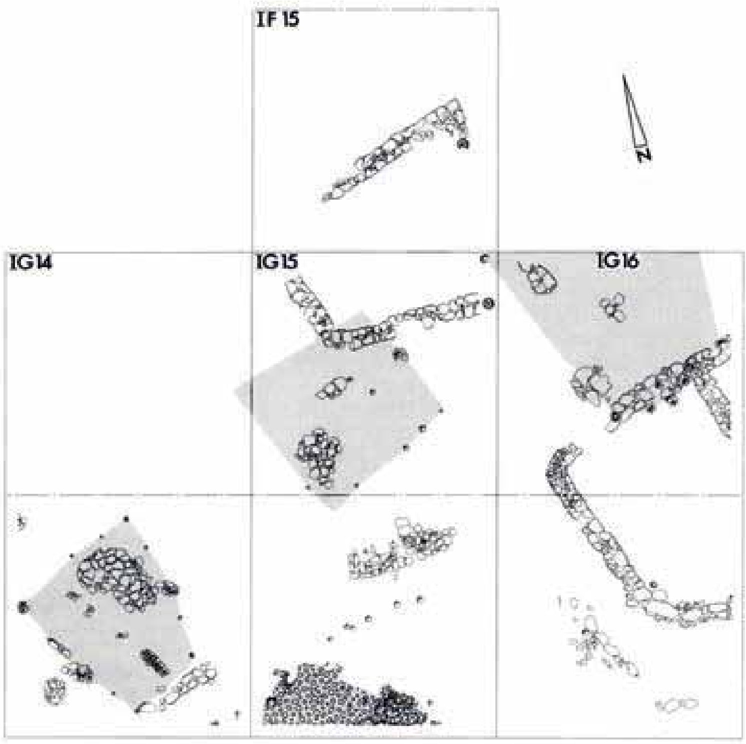
▼ Fig. 239: The Iron Age I settlement burnt down, but the site was not abandoned. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 13.



approximately the next 400 years, the rural housing estates, architectural stock, and spatial design of Kamid el-Loz passed through multiple modifications and innovations.

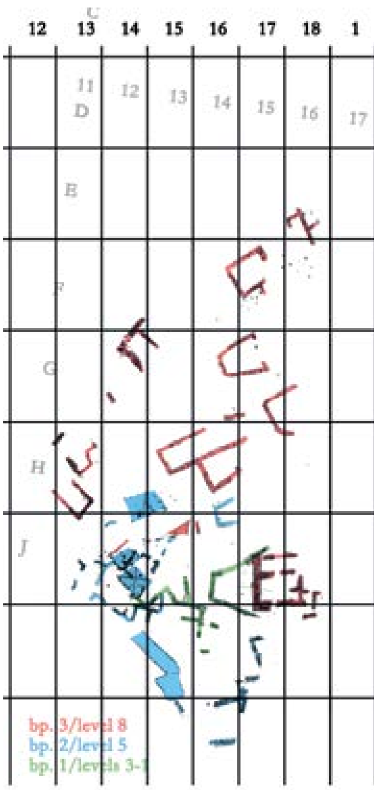
9.2.1 The central area: A residential quarter with a varied history: Iron Age II (IA II c. 1000 – 539 B.C.)



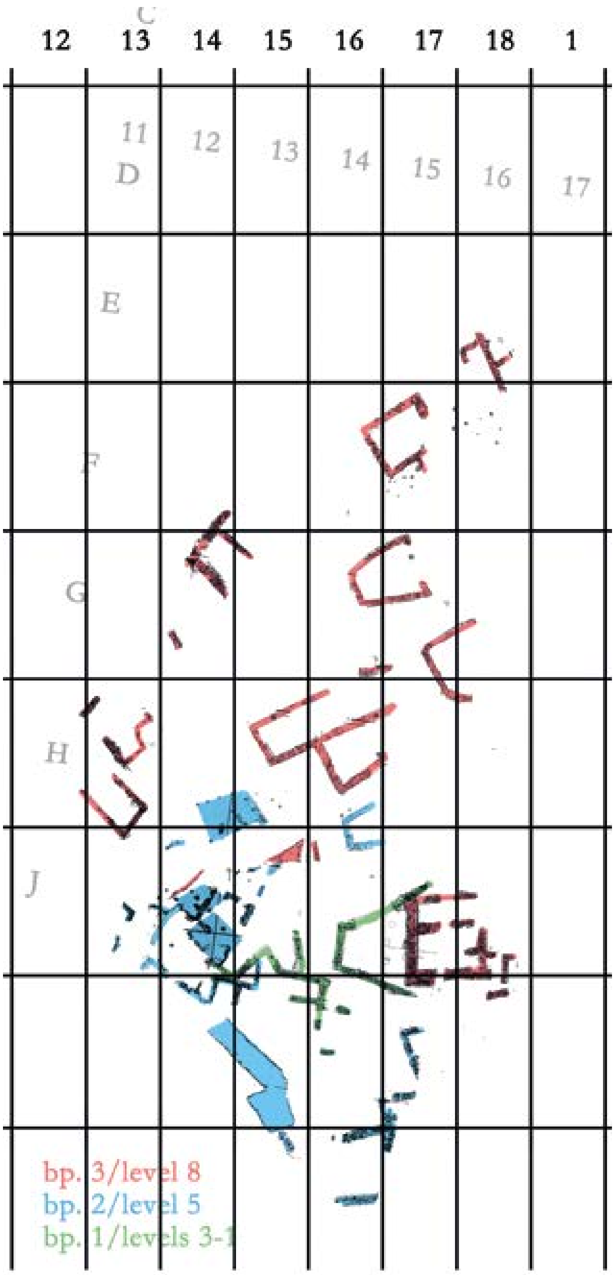


The central area was at the time the focus of the resettlement activities. Here, the settlers began to set up their new houses (younger building period 2, building level 6; see figs 240 – 241), structures that were now mainly built as post-hole houses, with walls made from reed or scrub (Echt 1984: 43), which were then plastered with clay. The building technique was not new to Kamid el-Loz but was already utilized during the Iron Age I period, when the settlers used it for building workshops within the residential area. Moreover, another resemblance to the earlier Iron Age I settlement became visible during the excavation. As before, the settlers now used the open spaces for placing the *tannours* and thus for carrying out household activities. The remains of some dozen houses, according to the excavators (Hachmann 1989: 50), were preserved; the details, however, are not yet fully published.

▲ Figs 240, 241: Remains of post-hole houses, building period 2, building level 6, Iron Age II settlement. Location color-coded rose on fig. 240, details of building remains color-coded grey on fig. 241. Sources: Echt 1984: Tafel 13; Hachmann 1989: 50; Archive Heinz.



◀ Fig. 242: Iron Age I and II settlement remains. IA I: building period 3, building level 8; IA II: building periods 2-1, building levels 5-1. Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 13; Hachmann 1989: 45 and 48.



▲ Fig. 243: Iron Age II settlement, building period 2, building level 4 (remains in I H 14, I J 13, I J 14) and building level 5 (surrounding the remains of level 4). Sources: Archive Heinz; Hachmann 1989: 47 and 48; Echt 1984: Tafel 13.

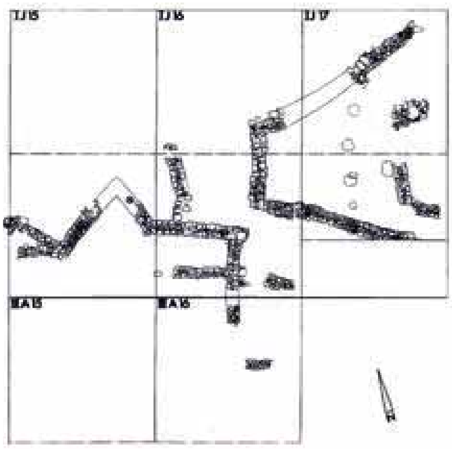
Over the course of time, the settlers implemented further changes, which affected the building techniques as well as the forms of their houses (building period 2, building level 5; see fig. 243). Side by side with the post hole-buildings, the settlers also set up houses with stone foundations (Hachmann 1989: 51), a traditional technique long used at Kamid el-Loz. Once again, however, they used a new technique to construct the walls' super-structures. These were now made of rammed earth (*Stampflehm)* instead of standardized preformed bricks.

Although some of the houses of level 5 had collapsed, others were still in use when the residents built new post-hole houses (building period 2, building levels 5/4, see fig. 243) over the collapsed structures. Old buildings and new structures stood side by side. At the same time, the settlers maintained the custom of raising detached buildings and locating the houses rather irregularly within the central area – that is, not according to a pre-planned concept.

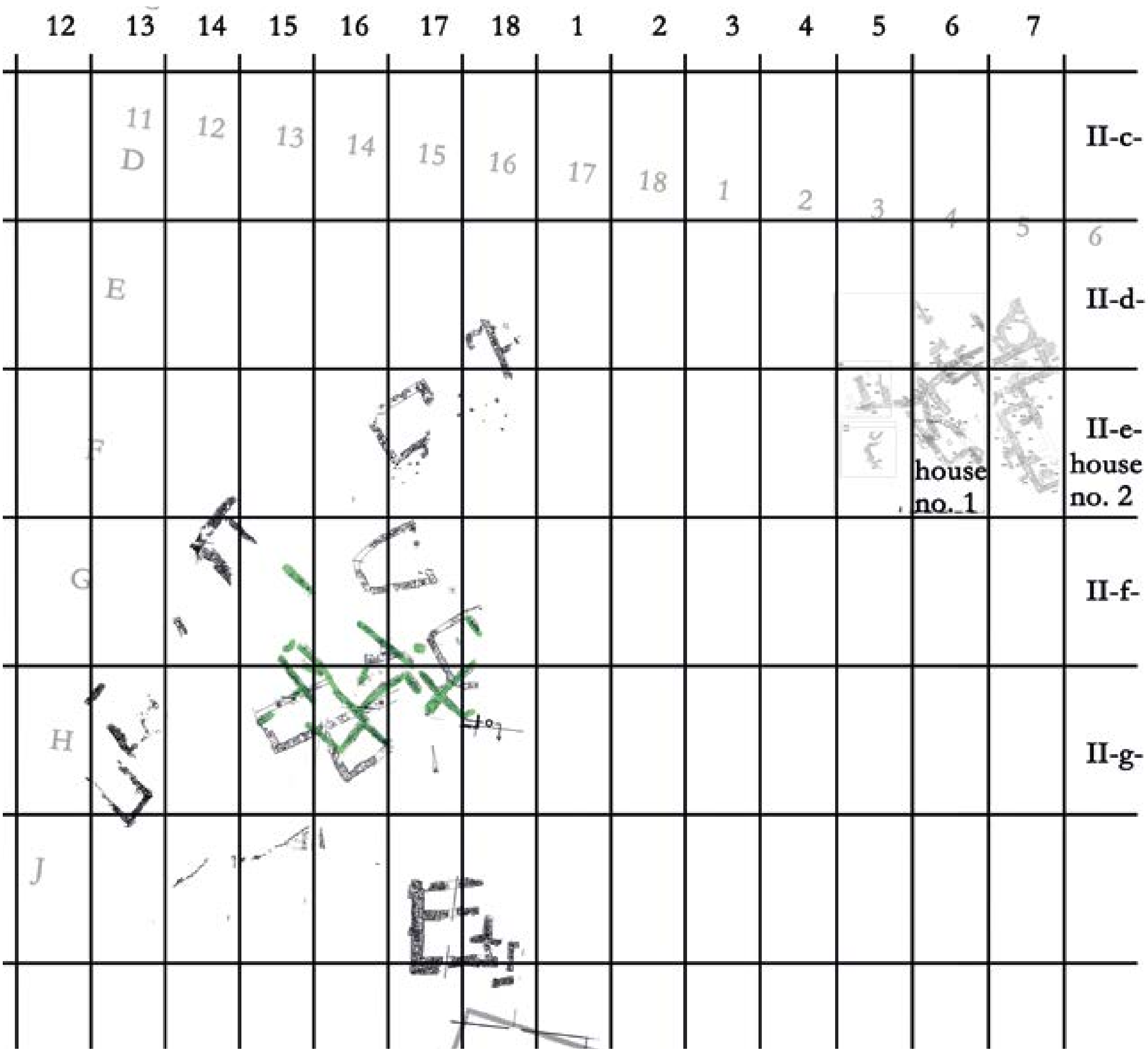
The houses' forms and sizes, as well as the mode of their distribution – the building over of free spaces – remained varied throughout the settlement's duration as well. Over the course of time, the residents built over the formerly free space in area J 15-17. They established a structure with an irregular ground plan (building period 1, building level 3, see figs 243 – 244), built as a technical hybrid – stone foundation walls formed a "room" that was then divided into two by a row of (presumably wooden) posts. The construction of zigzagging walls, forming a demarcation, a screen, or a windbreak rather than a house wall, was new.

At the very end of Iron Age II, the settlers, in a way, "came back" to a very traditional way of house construction. Rectangular rooms, wall foundations made of stone, and wall superstructures made of bricks were built north of the hybrid structure and the zigzagging wall (building period 1, building levels 3 – 1; see figs 243 – 244).

The central area thus experienced the building, destruction, and rebuilding of houses of various forms and types, as well as the practice of varying building techniques and even



◀ Fig. 244: Iron Age II settlement, building period 1, building level 3. Source: Hachmann 1989: 43 and 45.



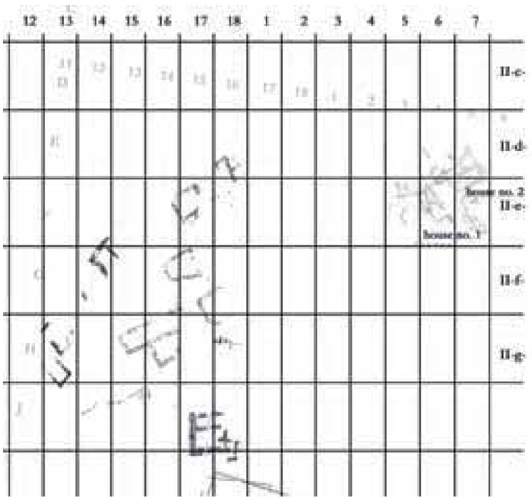
▲ Fig. 245: Further fragmented remains of the Iron Age II settlement, building period 1, building levels 3, 2, 1. Sources: Archive Heinz; Hachmann 1989: 46; Echt 1984: Tafel 13.

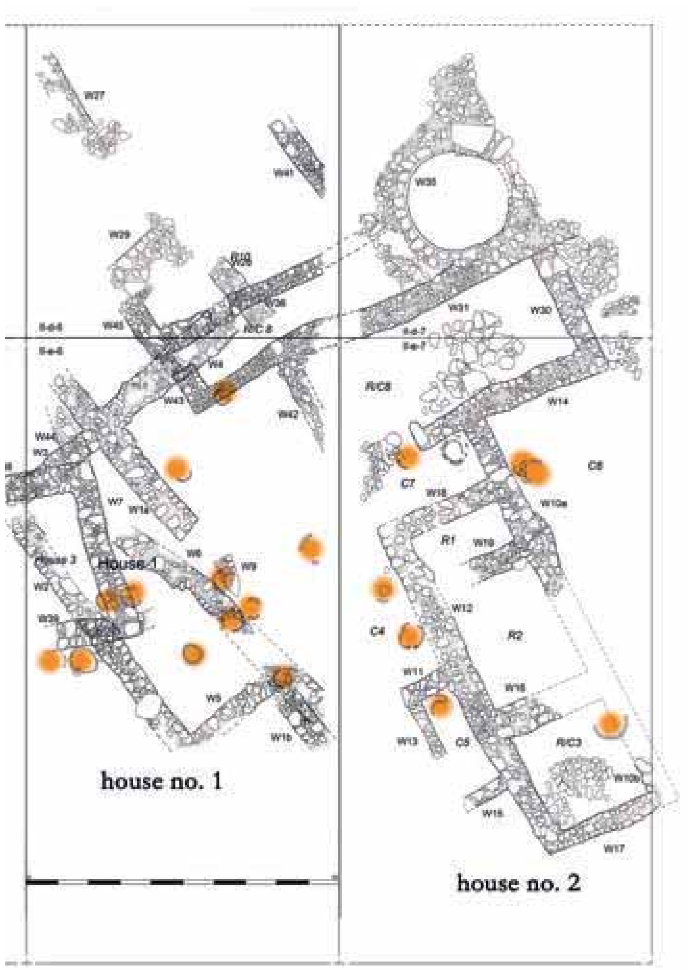
the hybrid mixture of construction techniques. At the same time, the numerous generations of settlers who were "responsible" for the settlement's appearance for a period of about 400 years, kept the custom of setting up detached houses and spreading them rather irregularly over the settlement area. Overall, we had the impression that in those days, rather loose settlement associations were living at Kamid el-Loz. This impression is reinforced when we look at the activities that took place during the Iron Age II period on the east slope.

9.2.2 The east slope during the Iron Age II period (IA II c. 1000 – 539 B.C.): An area solely for domestic work

Tannours and platforms were set up by the users in the remains of ruined house 1 (IA I) and the decayed remains of the LBA II house 2 (see figs 246 – 247 and chapter 8.8.3). The exclusive location of the platforms and *tannours* on unsettled space without any direct integration of these installations into an inhabited residential neighborhood is a phenomenon that we know already from the LBA I period, when settlers used the decaying remains of abandoned houses in the residential area west (see chapter 8.8.1) and from

the phases of anomie following the Middle Bronze Age blazes that twice destroyed the city of Kamid el-Loz (see chapters 5 and 7).





▲► Figs 246, 247: The areas of the Iron Age I and II settlement remains (fig. 246); en detail: Iron Age II installations in the buildings on the east slope (fig. 247). Sources: Archive Heinz; Echt 1984: Tafel 13.

The exact dating of these Iron Age activities is still a matter of debate. Our pottery analysis and the stratigraphic observations lead us to assign it to the Iron Age II period. The exact correlation of the activities on the east slope with the settlement activities in the central area, however, is still unsettled. Yet another subject keeps us busy. We are discussing what social and cultural causes could possibly have led to this separation of domestic activities from the residential area and what its social implications might have been. During the MBA and LBA urban development of Kamid el-Loz, household activities as a rule were performed inside the house precincts, hidden from the view of neighbors and passers-by.

Now, however, domestic work was performed in public spaces, a habit which was similar to the practices during the phases of anomie and the mode of behavior that the settlers developed at the end of the LBA I period in the residential area west. According to our current way of thinking reflects this habit an entirely different understanding of what domestic work was: it was now a work jointly executed, rather than a familial matter.

9.3 A short study: First questions concerning roughly 600 years of rural life at Kamid el-Loz: Iron Age I and II (IA I – IA II c. 1200 – 539 B.C.)

The first rural settlement was established early during the Iron Age I period (see fig. 231) and burned down at the end of this period. After the burning, the settlers once again engaged in rural activities during the Iron Age II phase (see figs 240 – 247). At the end of the Iron Age II period, the inhabitants abandoned their settlement. In some areas, the excavators found burnt remains of rammed earth (*Stampflehm)*, and even stone foundation walls showed signs of burning. Ash layers, which would indicate a blaze at the time, however, are not reported. It is thus still a matter of debate what caused the inhabitants to leave their homes and abandon Kamid el-Loz as a settlement at the end of the Iron Age II period. Answering the question of why people leave a site – why residents leave their homes or give up a mode of life – is essential to explain the periods of anomie during the Middle Bronze Age as well as the abandonment of *Kumidi*, the last city of Kamid el-Loz, when the settlers not only gave up their city and their homes but also brought the entire mode of urban life to a halt at Kamid el-Loz.
When the settlement activities at Kamid el-Loz were initiated during the Iron Age I period and reactivated during phase II, rural populations developed rural settlements. These were characteristic for about 600 years. That is, the former urban mode of life assuredly was not revived. We assume that the reasons for this fundamental change from urban to rural were wide and varied. To understand and to explain what caused the end of urbanism and the reemergence of village life at Kamid el-Loz is the focus and subject of one of our major research projects, which we are currently developing. But not only the change in lifestyle is of interest. The buildings, although we consider them to be rather irregularly set up structures, show that the inhabitants had a variety of bodies of knowledge, needs, and options. Why did the settlers utilize the observed different technologies and building materials, let alone the forms of the buildings as well as the zigzagging walls (see fig. 244)? The technologies used show the diversity of handicraft knowledge. At the same time, the question arises as to whether building with stone, clay, bricks, posts, and wood and setting up walls made of reeds and brushwood was an advanced adjustment to the local climate conditions, a compromise solution, or just the easiest way to meet a short-term and seasonally occurring need. Clay built houses are a very well-functioning adaption to both summer heat and winter cold climates. Post-hole houses, however, with walls made of reeds and brushwood seem to be not particularly appropriate in a very cold winter climate like that of the Beqa'a plain of Lebanon; the same houses would be quite advantageous during the hot summer months, which is also a typical seasonal climate phenomenon in Lebanon.

Excursus: Post holes and zigzagging walls that do not form a coherent (or, for the today's observer, recognizable) ground plan

The distribution of the post holes and the construction of the so-called zigzagging walls initially did not signal a coherent ground plan, at least not to us, the archaeologists who are currently working on this evidence. Our manifold attempts to come up with a convincing functional interpretation of the remains led to many constructive and controversial debates. One of the most compelling ideas will be presented briefly; this connects the building evidence with yet another possible mode of life practiced at Kamid el-Loz. It was the study of the modes of life of mobile groups living all over Western Asia – the Near and Middle East – up to the present day that led us to devise the following functional interpretation of the post holes – that is, the post-hole buildings and the zigzagging walls.

Groups who have a combination of a mobile and sedentary way of life in Afghanistan in the 1970s built stone walls that mainly served as windbreaks immediately adjacent to their tents (the setting up of tents produces the post holes)(see fig. 248). When the groups moved on, the tents were removed and taken along. The walls remained. They were reused when the same people returned or when other mobile groups utilized the space. Such a camp is thus used repeatedly. This instance of a combined use of mobile and fixed architecture makes it possible to see the architectural findings of Iron Age I/II Kamid el-Loz in a different light in comparison to the established interpretations. The scattered distribution of small houses, seemingly haphazardly built walls, and the post holes in between appear reasonable, and these signs may be seen in the given picture.

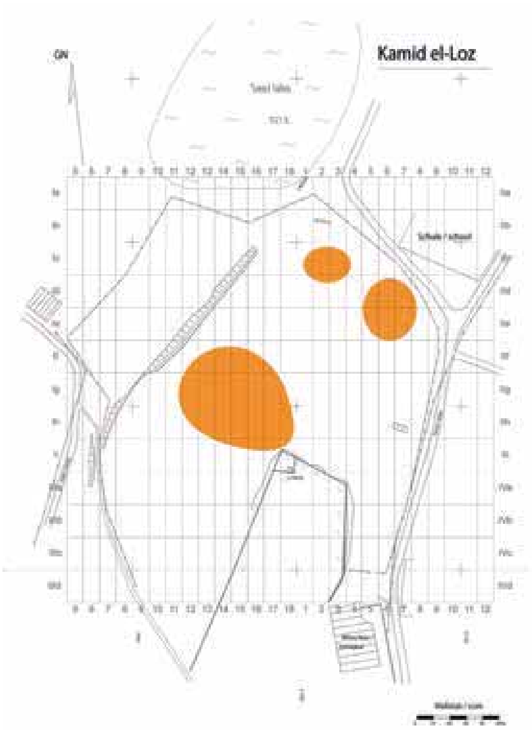
▼ Fig. 248: Tents and surrounding zigzagging walls. Source: Michaud *et alii* 2003: 48.



Kamid el-Loz, according to our interpretation, was used as a meeting place and camp by sedentary as well as mobile groups, who generated the architecture and spatial design. If this interpretation can be confirmed, the people living at Kamid el-Loz maintained a lifestyle completely different from the urban mode of life that had characterized the communal organization at Kamid el-Loz for hundreds of years. Mobile lifestyles differ in many ways from sedentary modes of life. The needs of a mobile lifestyle require an entirely different set of knowledge and skills for living and surviving than the one essential for sedentary communities. The technical requirements for building a tent are different from those needed for building a house. To ensure economic survival, mobile groups need a different knowledge of the environment and nature and a specific familiarity with the territory. For a mobile group, the demands of subsistence living call for forms of division of work, participation in labor, and allotment of responsibility other than those found in a residential community. The development of Kamid el-Loz at the beginning of the Iron Age I into a settlement, which was no longer a city but a village, potentially gave way to the establishment of two differing but compatible modes of life and forms of communal order – the sedentary and the mobile lifestyles. This coexistence of two different cultural practices, however, ended during the Iron Age II period or at the beginning of the Iron Age III period, in the 6th century B.C., when the site was abandoned as a place for the living and transformed into an area for the deceased.

9.4 Another major cultural change: The conversion of the former settlement area into a burial ground: Iron Age III (IA III c. 539 – 332 B.C.)

The first far-reaching transformation in the history of Kamid el-Loz that is visible to the today's observer was the change from the urban to the rural mode of life at the beginning of the Iron Age (IA I). Another major cultural break marks the end of the Iron Age II period. The inhabitants gave up their houses (and campgrounds), and they (or perhaps newcomers) decided to transform this area into a large cemetery, stretching from the east slope via the northern part of the site down to the central area at the beginning of Iron Age III. The areas were densely occupied with hundreds of burials of which,



◀ Fig. 249: The Iron Age III cemetery field. Sources: Archive Heinz.



▲ Fig. 250: One of the Iron Age III burials. Source: Archive Heinz.

▼ Figs 251, 252: One of the exceptionally rich Iron Age III burials. Source: Archive Heinz.

as a rule, no burial pit was dug into other. We currently assume that markers must have existed aboveground, although we have not yet found any traces of such markers. The effort to bury the dead was in general modest. The local tradition encompassed neither the building of grave architecture nor the use of coffins. The bereaved just dug simple pits and buried both adults and children therein. As a rule, the dead were either buried without burial goods or with only a very modest number of them.

Exceptions to the rule confirm this observation. Just a few of the deceased were equipped with a striking diversity of goods, such as bronze bracelets and bronze bangles that were worn around the ankle. Bronze earrings, fin-

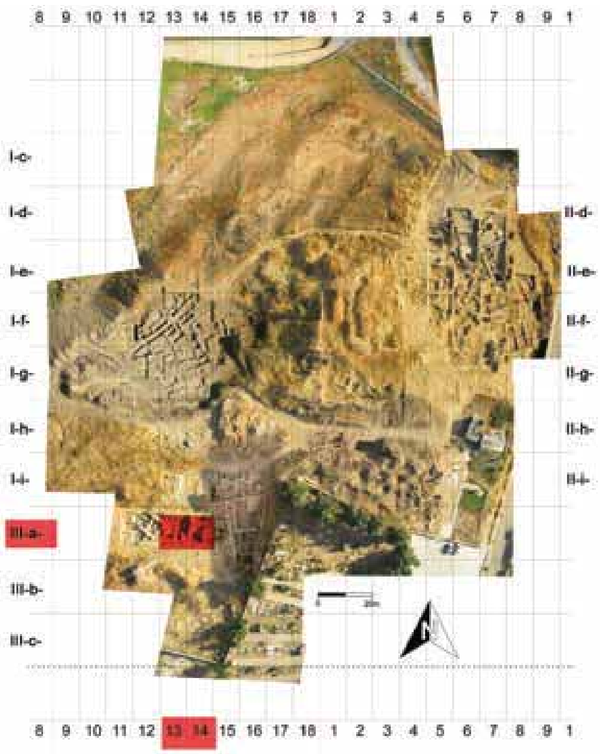




ger rings, and beads made from bronze as well as from semi-precious stone were included, as were bronze fibulae, bronze cosmetic rods, and containers carved from bone for storing the rods. Spindle whorls fashioned from ivory and scarab seals made of various kinds of stone and semi-precious stone completed the prodigious panoply of grave goods. Most of the raw materials were not of local origin, and we assume that either the raw materials were brought to Kamid el-Loz and processed on site or the objects were imported, brought as gifts, or arrived at Kamid el-Loz with their owners – people from the outside who lived and died at Kamid el-Loz and were then buried on the spot with their personal belongings.
The social, cultural, and political as well as economic causes behind both the custom of burying people with no or rather poor ensembles of grave goods and the practice of equipping the deceased with a lavish amount of goods is one of our current investigations.

9.4.1 Kamid el-Loz: A good place for the dead, but where did the living live?

Kamid el-Loz during the Iron Age III period was used as a large cemetery – but where did those who buried the deceased in this burial ground live? At present, we are discussing various questions, among them the issue of whether there was a settlement at all at this time at Kamid el-Loz. We cannot (yet) exclude the possibility that those who buried the dead at the site lived somewhere else and Kamid el-Loz was only a burial space. We are considering whether those who were buried at Kamid el-Loz were former inhabitants who were brought "home" by their relatives, either former sedentary inhabitants or members of one of the mobile groups. Another option is being discussed: Did those who were buried at Kamid el-Loz have no connection at all to the village, but those who used the area saw the vast empty space as suitable for a burial area? We have not yet discovered a settlement affiliated with the cemetery, and the discussion is still ongoing. Our excavations, however, have uncovered some hints that may provide answers to our questions.
West of the former palace area, we found some lime-plastered pits, filled with Iron Age III pottery (areas III-a-13/14). Activities were taking place in these areas. People set up built structures, produced or used pottery, excavated these pits, carefully plastered them, and then filled



◀ Fig. 253: Overview of the site and location of area with Iron Age III pits. Source: Archive Heinz.



▲ Figs 254, 255: The Iron Age III pits in the west of the tell. Source: Archive Heinz.

them with pottery. Why all this was done and by whom still needs to be explored – that is, we intend to follow up on the question of whether there were settlers, either sedentary or mobile, living at Kamid el-Loz when the burial ground was established.

Conclusions: The Iron Age – or, (nearly) everything changed at Kamid el-Loz ?

The Iron Age development of Kamid el-Loz, a period of about 800 to 900 years, went through at least two, perhaps even three major cultural breaks over the course of time, from the beginning of the resettlement during the Iron Age I period until the end of the Iron Age in period IA III (about 1200 – 332 B.C.).

The first stage of resettlement saw the first major cultural break, when the new settlers not only developed a rural instead of an urban mode of life but also functionally transformed the former temple and palace districts into residential areas. During this early Iron Age development (IA I), the settlement burned down and was partially abandoned (see chapters 9 – 9.1.4). Settlement activities restarted, however, and the following settlement spread mainly over the central area of the site. Post-hole buildings and zigzagging walls led us to propose that possibly a new lifestyle took root at Kamid el-Loz. We postulate that the habit of mobile living and seasonal utilization of the site was established at the same time that the permanent rural settlers were residing there (Iron Age I/II), and, if so, this situation would have

constituted an obvious cultural modification (see chapters 9.2 – 9.3). The next change and major cultural break occurred when the former residential areas were transformed into a large cemetery, the first (known so far) of this kind at Kamid el-Loz (Iron Age III) (see chapters 9.4 – 9.4.1).

With the construction of the cemetery during the Iron Age III period, the functional character of Kamid el-Loz departed even more and perhaps the furthest from the once urban mode of life at the site. The users transformed an area for the living into an area for the dead. It is in particular this transformation that we are discussing with regard to the reasons, causes, and backgrounds that motivated people to initiate this new function. The former local tradition was to keep the dead close to the area of the living, even in times of anomie and disaster. Although this tradition went back hundreds of years, in the meantime, the modes of life and thus the local traditions changed profoundly at Kamid el-Loz. Whether the people using the site knew anything about the history of Kamid el-Loz and the traditions developed hundreds of years before is at least arguable. For us, it is a matter of debate who the people were who buried their deceased at the site and where these people were living.

The approximately 800 – 900 years of Iron Age development, according to our understanding, was a time of far-reaching changes and transformations. We are currently working to determine the possible reasons that led to the various modes of life at Kamid el-Loz. What thus caused the transformation from an urban lifestyle into village life at the beginning of the Iron Age period (IA I), which lasted for about 200 years? What or who initiated the transformation from a site first used permanently by sedentary settlers to a site that was potentially used seasonally by mobile groups? It was this hybrid use that lasted longest during the Iron Age, for about 600 years if we accept that it began during the Iron Age I period. Moreover, what made it necessary or possible to convert the site from a settlement serving the living to a habitat for the deceased during the Iron Age III period and to retain this custom for about another 200 years?

In our attempts to find answers, we consider three major parameters that might potentially have produced the social, political, economic, and cultural changes during that time. We explore the environmental development, ask whether we can prove if epidemics took place, and deal with the political developments – the rising of local, regional, and "nationwide" powers and the economic and political interests of every political organization – that potentially formed the modes of life according to which the people of Kamid el-Loz lived.

Explanatory remark:

The Iron Age levels were predominantly excavated by the teams from the University of Saarbrücken. The labeling of the areas, however, follows the terminology set up later in the course of the excavations under the direction of M. Heinz. For the location of areas I, II, III, IV, and VI as well as areas VII and VIII and the distribution of Iron Age evidence, see fig. 230 and fig. 231.

Further Reading:

I. Administrative area / II. Palace area / III. Residential area west / IV. Residential area north / VI. Temple area
Hachmann 1989: 43-56
Echt 1984: 42ff.

VII. Residential area east
BAAL 10, 2006: 88ff.
BAAL 14, 2010: 26ff.
BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 26ff.

VIII. Cemeteries west and east
Kunter 1977
Poppa 1978
BAAL 10, 2006: 87
BAAL 14, 2010: 14ff.
BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 74ff.
Hachmann/Penner 1999

More than 600 years of rural development, followed by the use of the site as a cemetery (IA I, II, III; 1200 – 332 B.C.):
A short summary in table form

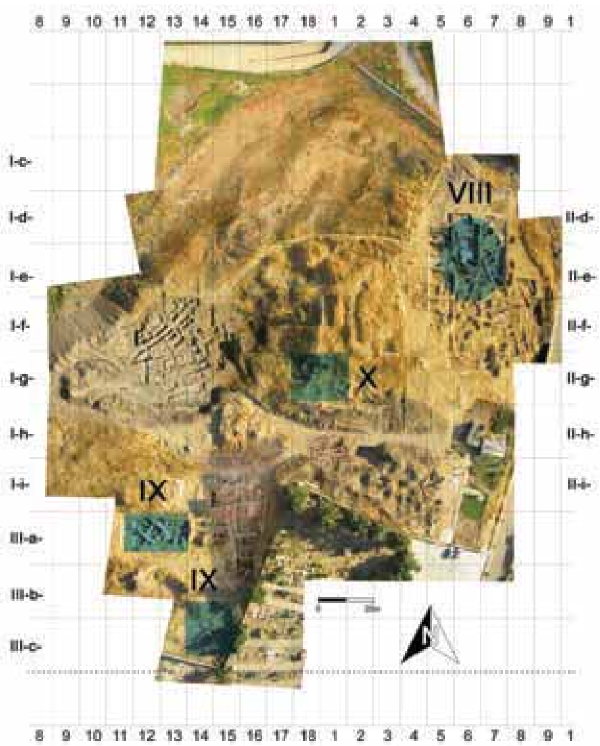
Period	Evidence						
IA III	Transformation of the site from a settlement to a cemetery						
IA II	Houses building period 1, building levels 3-1 building period 2, building levels 6-5/4 **central area / residential area north** (former temple, palace, administrative areas)						*tannours* in decaying remains of house 1, IA 1 and house 2, LBA II **residen-tial area east**
IA I	8-9 houses building period 3, building levels 8-7 **central area / residential area north** (former temple, palace, administrative areas)						house 1 **residen-tial area east**
LBA II	some houses lived-in **residen-tial area west**	pottery **trench 2**	palace P 1 / P 2 **palace area**	workshop **admin-istrative area**	temple T 1 **temple area**	residential area and work-shops, building period 4, building levels 10-9 **residen-tial area north**	residential area / liv-ing houses **residen-tial area east**

10. The period of Hellenistic imperialism and domination of the Levant

(Hellenistic period, c. 332 – 30 B.C.)

Continuity and changes, the resumption of former habits as well as the adoption of innovations; the development of Kamid el-Loz remained multifarious

Iron Age I–III	Hellenistic period	Roman Empire
1200–332 B.C.	332–30 B.C.	30 B.C.–300 A.D.



◄ Fig. 256: Overview of the distribution of Hellenistic remains. Source: Archive Heinz.

Currently, a restricted or perhaps even sparse amount of material evidence exists for the post-Iron Age development of Kamid el-Loz. What at first sight does not look very informative, proves however once again to be significant when we start asking questions about the activities, needs, and options – in short, the modes of life – of the settlers of Kamid el-Loz. It is again the reconstruction, the interpretation or the creation of the connections between the material heritage and the people behind the material culture that makes even scarce archaeological evidence so extraordinarily informative. When the settlers initiated the resettlement of Kamid el-Loz, they chose at least four areas for this reestablishment – the east slope, the center of the site, and the districts west and south of the area that for hundreds of years had housed the local palace (the palace area, however, no longer had this function since the end of the LBA period). The newcomers or, more generally, those who settled at Kamid el-Loz accepted or decided to maintain the function that the former settlers assigned to the east slope – they continued to use it as a burial ground. The way the settlers

now cared for their dead, at least for the adult deceased, however, followed distinctly different customs (see fig. 256, VIII).

The architectural remains known to us so far were spread over three areas. At the western edge of the central area, a working precinct in sector I-g-18/II-g-1 was preserved (see fig. 256, X). The installation as well as the pottery found there hint at the performance of household activities. West and south of the former palace area (see fig. 256, IX, IX), the settlers restored or reintroduced for the first time since the Late Bronze Age (or perhaps since only the Iron Age III period; see above) the building technique of solid stone-brick houses. We excavated two residential buildings, house no. 1 in area III-a-12/13 and house no. 2 in III-b/c-14/15 (see fig. 267). Both, according to our current interpretation of their inventories, must have been the homes of wealthy residents. It was the pottery vessels, among them an inscribed one, that gave us the first hints as to the chronology of the areas, the new activities at Kamid el-Loz and the new cultural evidence, dating to the period of Hellenistic imperialism, and informed us about the activities of the house owners as well. The inscribed vessel documents economic connections between Kamid el-Loz and the Aegean; whether these were direct or indirect remains to be explored.

A further change occurs in the terminology used by archaeologists to name the period in which all this occurred. For the first time, the archaeological community named an epoch after a political event considered to be very closely connected to the development. Because it is the time of the Hellenistic expansion from "Europe" into the realm of the Levant and far beyond, as far as today's Indus Valley, it is called "The Hellenistic Age." The pertinence of this terminology is, to my mind, questionable and needs to be discussed. The reason for these reservations will be outlined briefly.

Excursus: Some reflections on the archaeological terminology applied to the Levantine developments

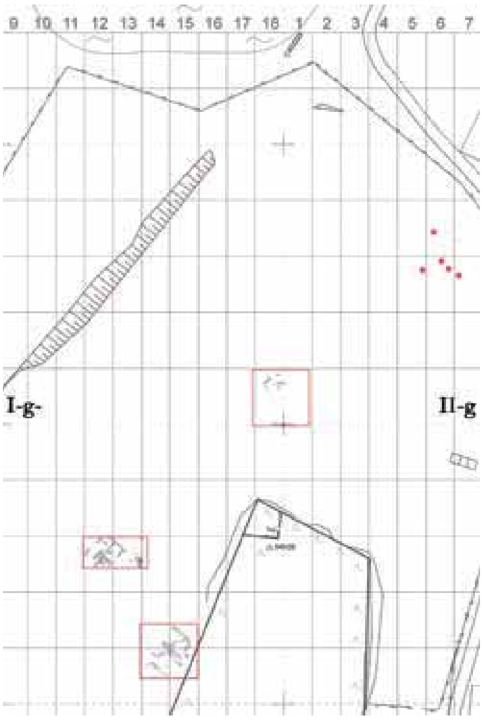
During the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2000 – 1550/1500 B.C.), according to the archaeological evidence, the Egyptians expanded, at least as an economic power, as far as the Levant, which came under the influence of the Egyp-

▼ Fig. 257: The Hellenistic empire. Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/40/MacedonEmpire.jpg



tians. During the Late Bronze Age (c. 1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.), Egyptian imperialism spread throughout the entire Levant; the political domination of the Egyptians was clearly evident, as was the influence of the Hittite superpower during the 14th/13th century. Both imperial forces withdrew from the area around 1200 B.C. At the zenith of the Assyrian empire, the Assyrians controlled the Levant (9th – 7th century B.C.), followed by the Babylonians (7th – 6th century B.C.). The Persian or Achaemenid Empire (6th – 4th century B.C.) was the last imperialistic power that expanded from the east over the entire region west of today's Iran as far as the Levant and beyond, into the area of ancient Greece. Without doubt, all these imperialist activities left their influences on the Levant and on the region of today's Lebanon. This holds also true for the influence of the Hellenistic imperialism. The kind of influences that these super-powers had on each local community – on their social, cultural, political, and economic developments, however, still needs to be explored. It is thus surprising that European researchers call the period of Hellenistic imperialism the "Hellenistic Age," when all the former phases of foreign domination over the Levant were either called the Middle or Late Bronze Age or the Iron Age, thus omitting the name of the dominant political actors of each political development of these times. Naming the development in the Levant after the "Great Power" that dominated the Near East was not a relevant issue for European researchers until this "Great Power" was an European one. With regard to the history of research, this is a very interesting fact. The current conventional designation of the period following the Iron Age in the Levant is the Hellenistic Age. In order to at least include aspects of our critical reflections on the development of terminology, we call this time "the period of Hellenistic imperialism and domination of the Levant".

10.1 The life of the dead: Continuity and change on the east slope



◄ Fig. 258: The period of Hellenistic imperialism – the houses in the west, the working precinct in the "Kuppe" area, and the burials on the east slope. Source: Archive Heinz.

The use of the east slope as a burial ground continued beyond the Iron Age III period into what we call the period of Hellenistic imperialism. As before during the Iron Age (but unlike the custom during the Middle and Late Bronze Age), the settlers kept the area of the burial ground isolated; the residential areas known so far were set up at a clear distance. As a rule and as before, the bereaved buried the deceased adult without grave goods, and no grave architecture was erected.

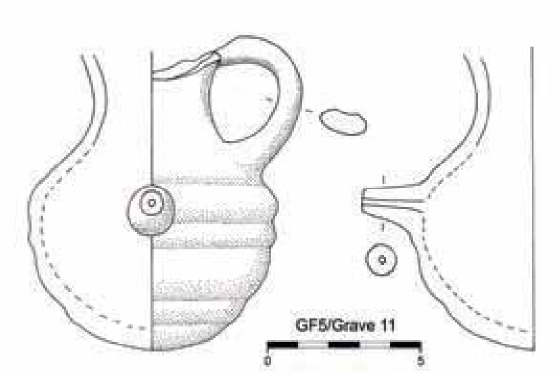
As in previous times, simple earth pits were dug to house the deceased. One new requirement, however, was essential to take care



▲▼ Figs 259, 260: Burials from the period of Hellenistic imperialism, east slope. Source: Archive Heinz.







◄ Figs 261-263: Child burial from the period of Hellenistic imperialism, grave 11, area II-e-6, east slope. Source: Archive Heinz.



of the dead properly. The deceased were now entombed in several large clay vessels, which were inserted into each other and thereby formed a proper coffin.

When children died, they were also placed into simple pits, but not entombed. In one case so far, the child was equipped with a vessel in the form of a female breast, demonstrating and symbolizing the need for breastfeeding that this small child still had at the point of death and beyond. Burial gifts in general, then, were not the rule but the exception.

10.2 The life of the living: Indicators for another resettlement of Kamid el-Loz, this time during the period of Hellenistic imperialism

After 200 years in which Kamid el-Loz served more or less solely as a burial ground (Iron Age III), the period of Hellenistic imperialism began not only with the above-described major change in burial habits but also with the resettlement of the site. Three areas show signs of house building and household activities. At the western edge of the central zone and in between the former burial grounds known so far, we found remains in sector I-g-18/II-g-1, an area which we called “Kuppe” (*hilltop*) because of its exposed topographical position. The excavated space (the so-called working precinct) is still small, but the insights into what happened here during the period of Hellenistic imperialism are already extensive and significant concerning the people’s needs and options. That the builders availed themselves of the building technique of solid built architecture, houses set up with

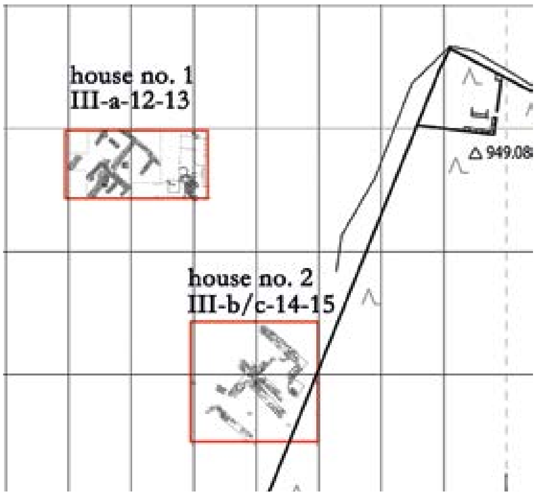




◄ Figs 264, 265: Working precinct during the age of Hellenistic imperialism, “Kuppe” area, I-g-18/II-g-1. Source: Archive Heinz.



► Fig. 266: Pottery from the working precinct, "Kuppe" area. Source: Archive Heinz.



► Fig. 267: Houses no. 1 and no. 2 west of the former palace area, time of Hellenistic imperialism. Source: Archive Heinz.

stone foundations as were known in the area for hundreds of years is immediately noticeable. Although the settlers using the site during the Iron Age developed a hybrid variety of building techniques, the knowledge of how to build stone-founded houses was not lost. The settlers who were active during the period of Hellenistic imperialism used the "Kuppe" for household activities. Our excavations brought to light a working precinct, which was equipped with a variety of carefully made vessels.

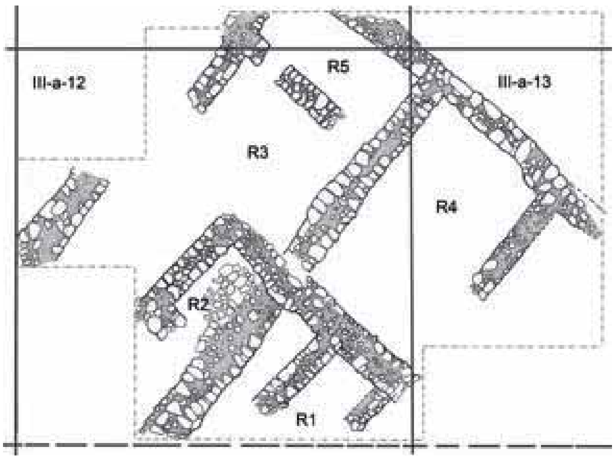
In two additional areas we found house remains from the same period, house no. 1 in III-a-12/13 and house no. 2 in area III-b/c-14/15. The settlers built their houses both west and south of the former Late Bronze Age palace. House no. 1 is built over some of the large Iron Age III pits.

10.2.1 House no. 1, area III-a-12/13

We excavated house no. 1 in two phases. Both structures were built with a stone basement and bricks forming the walls. Both had two rooms. The excellent quality of the masonry meant, according to our interpretation, that there were wealthy households that could afford such expenditures. This impression is affirmed by an extraordinary collection of pottery that the users left in the older of the two structures. Several vessels we found were very carefully decorated and partly inscribed, and, as the inscription showed, the users of the older house had trading connections as far as the Aegean.

▼ Figs 268, 269: House no. 1, west of the former palace area, time of Hellenistic imperialism. Source: Archive Heinz.





The first built structure burned down, as heavy ash layers indicate. The house was abandoned, even though its walls were still in an excellent structural condition after the burning. The settlers – whether they were the former inhabitants or newcomers remains an open question – built over this structure and erected a new house directly above the older one, a house of the same size and type and of the same building quality, in which, however, no meaningful inventory of pots and vessels was left.

Excursus: The written evidence from house no. 1; or, were the people of Kamid el-Loz literate at the time?

The older phase of house no. 1 contained a number of Rhodian amphorae. This vessel type served, among other things, as container in the long distance trade and was used as such in large quantities during the period of Hellenistic imperialism (Kulemann-Ossen/Leicht/Heinz 2007: 168-181). Wine, oil, olives, dried fruit, and nuts were among the traded goods exchanged at that time between the Aegean and the Levant. Often, the producers of the amphorae sealed their vessels with their names as well as with the date of the vessels' manufacture. A handle fragment of an amphora found in house no. 1 showed such a mark. Two lines of the text have been preserved. The first line depicts the words "under Archembrotos", a statement that is to be understood as an eponym. The second line contains the word "Hyakinthios". "Archembrotos" is the name of a Helios-priest. In Rhodos, this name was used to designate the year 134/133 B.C. (Leicht in Kulemann-Ossen/Leicht/Heinz 2007). The second name, "Hyakinthios," specifies the month May/June. The manufacture of that vessel should be dated accordingly. While the vessel type thus indicates trading connections between Kamid el-Loz and the Aegean, the inscription helps in dating these contacts.

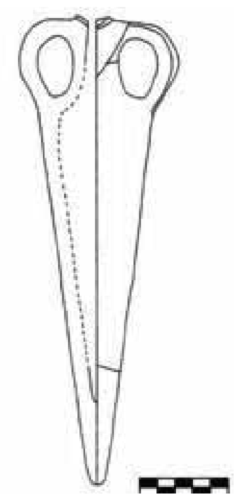
But the inscription raises a number of questions as well. The key one for us is, were the settlers of Kamid el-Loz at that time literate? The text was written in the Greek script and language, the means of communication of the imperialistic power (no longer in cuneiform and Akkadian, as during the Late Bronze Age). Moreover, was it at all necessary for someone at Kamid el-Loz to read the inscription? Was it a message for the producer and sender rather than of importance for the receiver? We are working on these questions and are also interested in finding out if during this period of time,

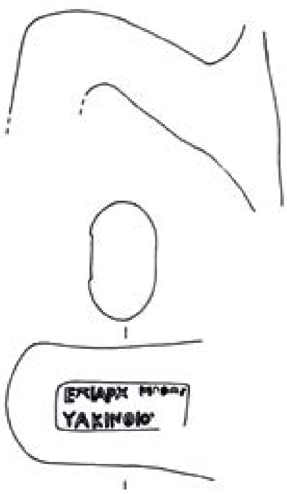






▲ Figs 270-272: Inventory of house no. 1 from the period of Hellenistic imperialism. Source: Archive Heinz.





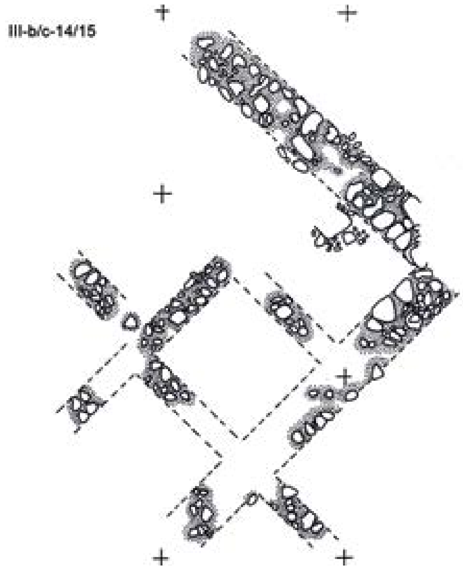
◀ Figs 273, 274: Rhodian amphora and inscribed handle. Source: Archive Heinz.

writing and reading was no longer the domain of experts at Kamid el-Loz but perhaps a knowledge that was at the disposal of many.

10.2.2 House no. 2, area III-b/c-14/15

House no. 2 differed from house no. 1, but we cannot yet exclude the possibility that this difference is due to their different states of conservation. The settlers constructed house no. 2 as a courtyard building, a building type well known at Kamid el-Loz since the Middle Bronze Age.



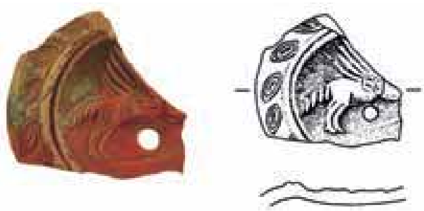


▲ Figs 275, 276: House no. 2 from the time of Hellenistic imperialism. Source: Archive Heinz.

The building technique and the quality of the masonry, as well as the alignment of the building, were, however, more or less in accordance with the characteristics of house no. 1, with the following exceptions: The walls were visibly wider than those of house no. 1 and partly built with huge, worked stones. When people entered this house, they would have realized that the passageway into the house was deeper than in other buildings, at the very least a sign that the builders were able to afford this investment. The reason that the builders chose this design is still a matter of debate for us. Did the owner want to impress people by the monumentality of the entrance layout? Did the house have a second floor and thus needed broader walls than a single-story building? We are exploring these aspects. So far, we uncovered five rooms and one courtyard. The northern entrance to the house led into the courtyard. The inhabitants as well as entering visitors would have come upon a configuration laid out as a kind



► Fig. 277: Fireplace of house no. 2 from the period of Hellenistic imperialism. Source: Archive Heinz.



► Fig. 278: Part of inventory from vicinity of the fireplace of house no. 2. Source: Archive Heinz.

of "lounge." A well-built fireplace was located immediately next to the entrance, around which an ensemble of extraordinary pottery was still preserved *in situ*. We got the impression that this served as a kind of reception area for both the visitors and the residents living in house no. 2. The use of house no. 2 was thus, at least according to the evidence, different from that of house no. 1, as was the abandonment of the building. Unlike house no. 1, house no. 2 obviously had not been hit by a blaze. We came upon neither ash layers nor any other signs of fire destruction. It rather seems that the users abandoned the house and left it to decay.

Conclusions: New cultural developments: Influenced by a "foreign" power, by trade connections, or by local needs?

With the beginning of what we call the period of Hellenistic imperialism, we face continuities and changes at various locations at the site. While the former burial field in the eastern part of the site continued to be used, the burial customs as such show a fundamental change. Death rituals are always closely connected to the cultural, social, and especially the religious traditions of people, both then and now (see our reflections on the burials, starting in chapter 4). A change in the burial customs, according to our current interpretation, indicates major changes in these traditions. The reasons for such changes might be looked for in motives within the community as well as in developments brought in from the outside. What happened at Kamid el-Loz? During the period of Hellenistic imperialism, for the first time in history the Levant came under the supremacy of a Western Mediterranean political power, the Greeks. Did this political domination and the long-distance trade between the Levant and the Aegean entail new ideas and new customs or perhaps even new settlers, who established themselves at Kamid el-Loz and then buried their deceased according to their Aegean traditions? We are currently studying this phenomenon, the influence of both political domination and long distance trade on the cultural and social customs and traditions of the dominated as well as on the culture of the dominating power itself. One aspect of our research on the impact of such influences concentrates on changes that occur and that affect the living as well as the dead. Another major issue concerns us. It pertains to the topic of knowledge, especially the knowledge of writing and reading. Which settlers at Kamid el-Loz were literate? An elite, for whose existence, however, we do not yet have solid evidence? Functional specialists, educated and trained as writers? Traders who needed this skill for their business? Or was reading and writing a skill that many had, regardless of their place in society? Another question is closely connected to this and to the appearance of Greek written inscriptions in the Levant and at Kamid el-Loz: Who spoke and who understood Greek? Moreover, and in addition to that, what was the local language spoken at the time at Kamid el-Loz?

Houses were built in the west and southwest of the site, areas utilized since the earliest beginnings of Kamid el-Loz. The building techniques and the materials employed, stone and brick, conformed to the traditions known for centuries at Kamid el-Loz. We have seen, however, the various techniques

Further Reading:
VIII. Cemetery east
BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 78

IX. Residential areas west-south
BAAL 8, 2004: 115ff.; BAAL 10, 2006: 93ff.; BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 17ff., 153ff.; Kulemann-Ossen/Leicht/Heinz 2007

X. Residential area and working precinct "Kuppe"
(Hellenistic evidence to be under way)

that were developed and applied at Kamid el-Loz during the Iron Age period, and we connected the building techniques and the resulting house types hypothetically with certain modes of living. During the Iron Age, according to our interpretation, mobile groups might have used the village of Kamid el-Loz side by side with residents who stayed permanently.

For the period of Hellenistic imperialism, signs for mobile settlers are (still?) missing. Rather, the house remains uncovered so far suggest a permanent community living at the site. If our interpretation of the built evidence is correct, this immediately raises a new question – namely, where the mobile groups were living at the time and why Kamid el-Loz was no longer a station on their routes.

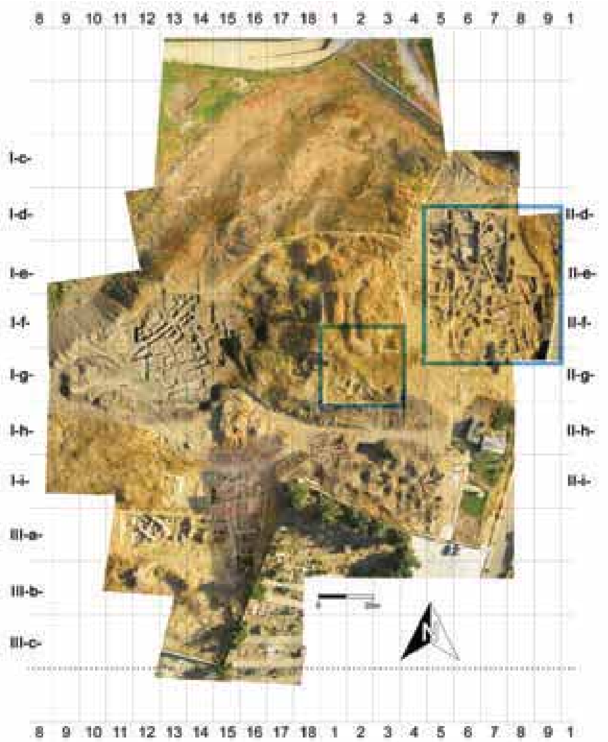
The period of Hellenistic imperialism (332 – 30 B.C.): A short summary in table form

Period	**Evidence**						
Hellenistic period	- **residential area west**	living houses 1 and 2 **area west of the palace**	- **palace area**	- **administrative area**	- **temple area**	**NEW:** working precinct **"Kuppe" area**	burials **east slope, former residential area east**
IA III	Transformation of the site from a settlement to a cemetery						
IA II	Houses building period 1, building levels 3-1 building period 2, building levels 6-5/4 **central area / residential area north** (former temple, palace, administrative areas)						*tannours* in decaying remains of house 1, IA 1 and house 2, LBA II **residential area east**
IA I	8-9 houses building period 3, building levels 8-7 **central area / residential area north** (former temple, palace, administrative areas)						house 1 **residential area east**
LBA II	some houses lived-in **residential area west**	pottery **trench 2**	palace P 1 / P 2 **palace area**	workshop **administrative area**	temple T 1 **temple area**	residential area and workshops, building period 4, building levels 10-9 **residential area north**	residential area / living houses **residential area east**

11. Once again, was everything new at Kamid el-Loz when Roman Imperialism dominated the area?

(Roman period, c. 30 B.C. – 300 A.D.)

Iron Age I–III	Hellenistic period	Roman Empire
1200–332 B.C.	332–30 B.C.	30 B.C.–300 A.D.



◄ Fig. 279: Overview of the site. Source: Archive Heinz.

After the Greek imperialistic activities in the Levant, Roman dominance over the area followed. This is the last period of settlement activities at Kamid el-Loz for which we have enough evidence to reconstruct the modes of life at Kamid el-Loz. Again, we face the expansion of an imperialistic power from the west that dominated the east, even surpassing, at least in geographical terms, the area that the Hellenistic power controlled. We reconstructed the foreign domination in and of Kamid el-Loz by means of inscribed objects and inscribed tablets. Starting with a short review of how we recognized the earlier periods of foreign rule in Kamid el-Loz, I will then proceed to our analysis of the last period of heteronomy at Kamid el-Loz.

During the Late Bronze Age, the settlers at Kamid el-Loz kept inscribed objects, written in Egyptian hieroglyphs – in the script and language of the foreign superpower – in the local palace (see chapter 8.3.5.1). In addition, the palace provided the evidence for diplomatic correspondence, written in Akkadian on cuneiform tablets (see chapter 8.3.9). Both pieces of evidence illustrate close connections of very different kinds between the elites residing at Kamid el-Loz and the rulers in Egypt. How the residents themselves experienced the political developments and the connections to Egypt is an issue we are investigating. We assume that the political events that destroyed the dominance of the superpowers at the end of the Late Bronze Age also affected the life of the settlers at Kamid el-Loz. The residents of Kamid el-Loz abandoned the urban mode of life, and the corresponding

social order and the political organization of Kamid el-Loz were given up forever. Whether the former inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz saw the principle of cause and effect in the same way remains to be explored.

Those residing at Kamid el-Loz in the following Iron Age period established a rural conglomerate, which passed through further transformations. While the community at first was composed of residents living permanently on site, a hybrid lifestyle developed over the course of time, and permanent habitation and the mobile lifestyle occurred side by side, according to our current interpretation of the built evidence. Late during the Iron Age, the settlers abandoned the village entirely and the mobile groups refrained from stopping at Kamid el-Loz. The site underwent another major functional transformation and was now, during the Persian period solely used as a burial ground.

We are still discussing which of the Iron Age developments (if any) could be seen as long-lasting effects of the Late Bronze Age political events in the area. Again, we ask ourselves if this connection is made only by today's archaeologists and observers or if the community members at the time also linked the changing conditions of their lives with the former supra regional politics.

During the period of Hellenistic imperialism, people decided to settle back at Kamid el-Loz, where they set up another rural village. What impact in particular Hellenistic imperialism had on these settlement activities is still unclear. That people from the Aegean and people of Kamid el-Loz came in contact with each other at the time is illustrated by the material evidence, for example the inscribed handle of the amphora found in house no. 1 (see figs 270 – 273). We assume that the residents established trading connections with the Mediterranean area, but it is also quite possible, of course, that migrants from the Aegean settled at Kamid el-Loz. Among other reasons, we consider this a possibility because the burial habits at Kamid el-Loz had changed, a fundamental change, according to our interpretation, that we connect with further changes in the social, cultural, and religious needs and options of the residents of Kamid el-Loz. In conjunction with this, we consider the questions of who needed and who could deal with the new cultural technique of writing – with the Greek script and language inscribed on the abovementioned handle.

▼ Fig. 280: The Roman Empire. Source: https://upload.wikimedi.org/wikipedia/commons/0/00/Roman_Empire_Trajan_117AD.png.

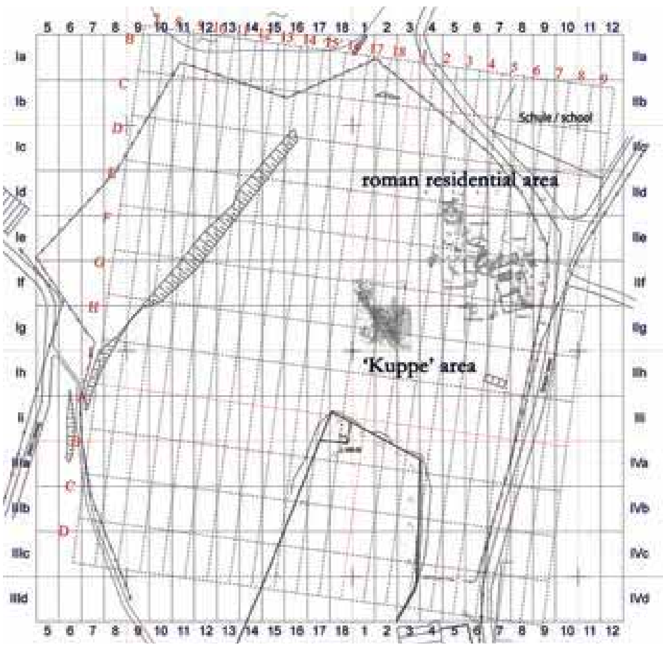


The expansion of Roman imperialistic power into the east is known from a large variety of historical as well as material sources. The people of Kamid el-Loz must have recognized, if not the change in the political order, at least the influence of the new cultural power. Many changes in the material heritage illustrate new habits, demands, expertise, and options. Again, the same questions arise: By which means did the new customs come to Kamid el-Loz – by migrants coming from the Roman heartland who settled at Kamid el-Loz and brought their personal belongings as well as their social and cultural habits with them, by a political elite who introduced the new customs for only

some, by traders, or by trading connections? The then residents of Kamid el-Loz implemented an altered spatial design, changed the distribution of functions over the site, applied new building techniques, utilized new house forms, introduced again another burial custom, and brought hitherto unknown technical knowledge and craft skills to Kamid el-Loz; they also must have been involved in a local and previously unknown mode of economic organization.

11.1 The spatial design: a discontinuation of or a return to old customs or just the implementation of new needs and options, applied regardless of former customs and traditions ?





For the first time after a long-lasting interruption, the settlers reoccupied the east slope; that is, the area, which was used exclusively as a cemetery during the Iron Age III and the period of Hellenistic imperialism, was now reconverted into a settlement area, although it was not limited to this function. Rath-

▲ Fig. 281: View of the east slope with Roman period architecture. Source: Archive Heinz.

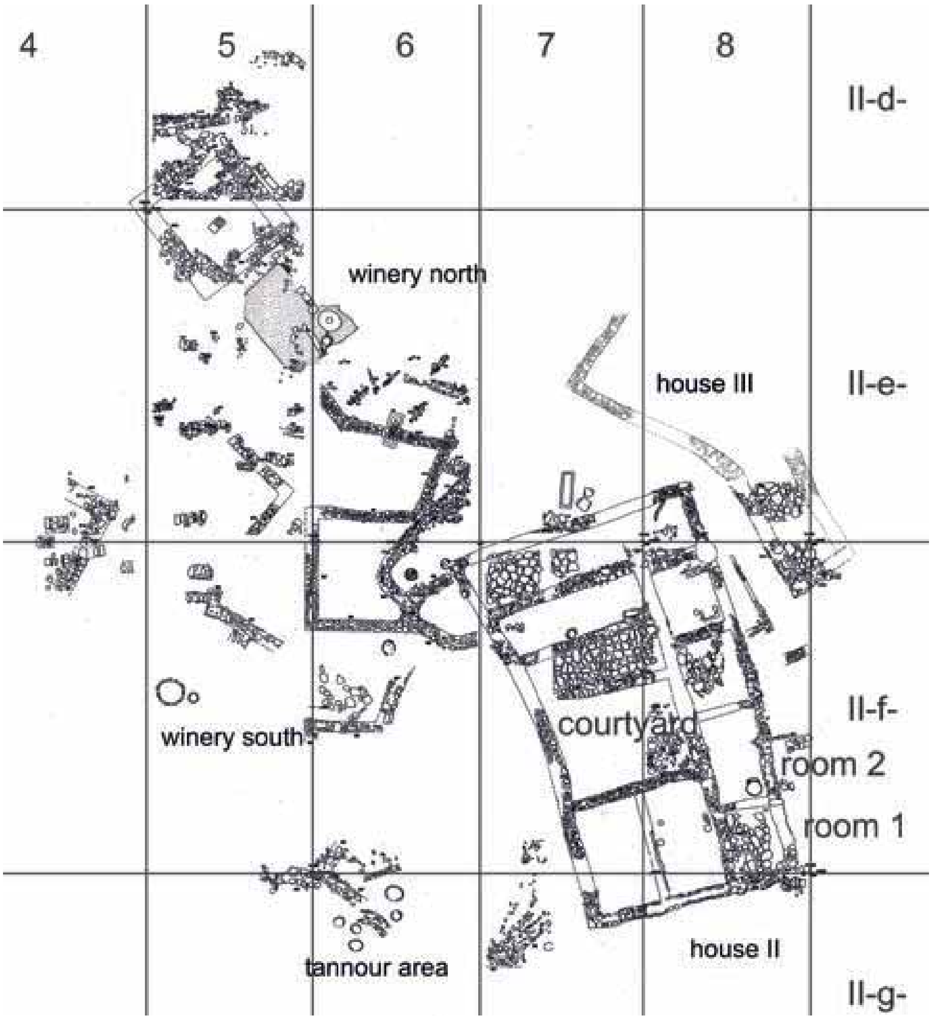
◄ Fig. 282: Map with Roman evidence. Source: Archive Heinz.

er, this reconversion went hand in hand with two additional far-reaching innovations. For the first time since the Late Bronze Age period (1550/1500 – 1200 B.C.), the settlers brought again together the sphere of the living with the sphere of the dead. For the first time in the history of Kamid el-Loz, the east slope served both the demands of the living, who set up houses in the east, and the needs of the dead, who were buried in the immediate neighborhood of the residential houses. In addition, the new spatial design went hand in hand with a new burial custom: the deceased were entombed now in sarcophagi. Furthermore, the placement of a workshop in the center of the site, the so-called "Kuppe," was new. Wall remains in the former "Hellenistic" settlement area indicate that the "Roman" settlement extended into this area as well.

11.1.1 The east-slope: Reoccupied, restructured, and altered in function

When the settlers reoccupied the east slope (the former residential area east and the cemetery) during the period of Roman imperialism, they no longer used it solely as cemetery, as the inhabitants did during the Iron Age III and the period of Hellenistic imperialism. They also deviated from the customs typical of the Late Bronze Age, when the east slope served as settlement area. The reoccupation of this area during the Roman period was characterized by the combination of both functions; this area now served as an area for the living as well as for the dead. The inhabitants set up residential

► Fig. 283: Architecture on the east slope during the period of Roman imperialism. Source: Archive Heinz.

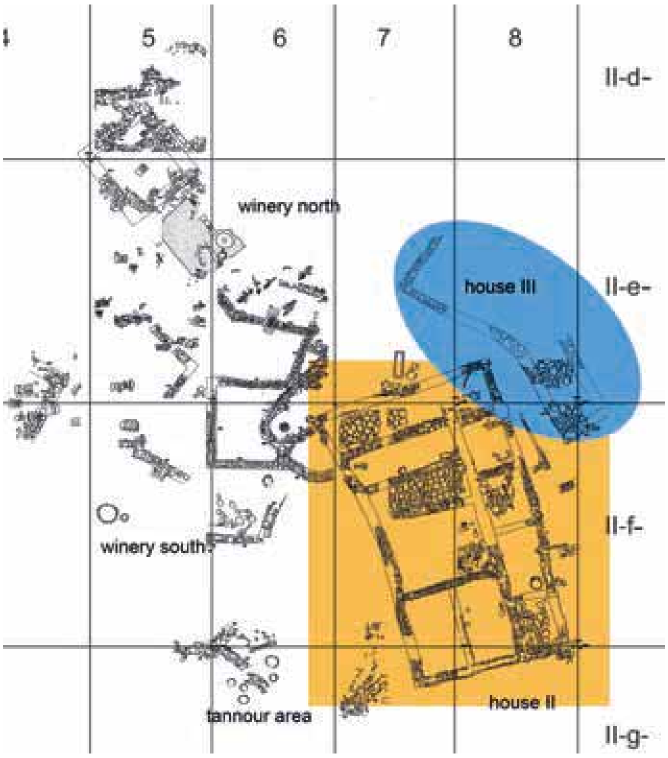


buildings (houses II and III were maintained), established so-called "wineries" north and west of house II (see fig. 283), and equipped the open space in the southwest with several *tannours*; that is, household activities were no longer carried out exclusively within houses – restricted to the private sphere – but also in public areas. The residential area was thus functionally exceedingly diversified.

11.1.2 The Roman *villa*: A courtyard house of Roman style

House II, which we call a "Roman *villa*," a luxury Roman country house, was preserved in full; house III was only partially preserved.

House II represents a type of detached courtyard house from the period of Roman imperialism, which had no similarities to the former courtyard houses set up at Kamid el-Loz, except for the fact that the courtyard, the largest space in the house, was in the center of the building. In addition to this unique feature, some further technical specifications distinguished the "Roman *villa*" from the previous local architecture. The foundations of the house walls were now, for the first time in the building history of Kamid el-Loz, built with carefully hewn stones. The care used in setting up the walls leaves the impression that these



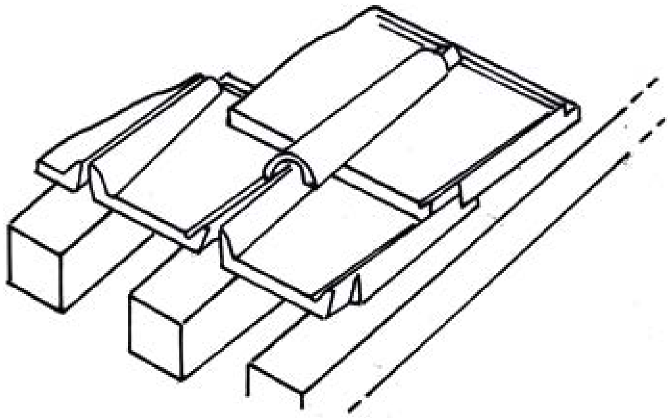
◄ Fig. 284: Plan of the Roman house II. Source: Archive Heinz.



◄ Fig. 285: The Roman house II. Source: Archive Heinz.

stones were exposed masonry – that is, this part of the walls was not plastered or otherwise covered, but the stones were visible.
Also new in the architectural repertoire of Kamid el-Loz was the roof construction of the *villa*. For the first time, the roofs of the houses were covered with roofing tiles.





▲ Figs 286, 287: Roof tiles from and a reconstruction of house II, from the period of Roman imperialism. Sources: Archive Heinz; model: http://www.lda-lsa.de/landesmuseum_fuer_vorgeschichte/fund_des_monats/2009/november/; rendering by M. Leicht.

Roofing tiles indicate a sloping roof with a ridge, a construction never seen at Kamid el-Loz before or after the period of Roman imperialism. In the provinces of the Roman Empire, builders used this kind of roof construction for *villas*, which, among other reasons, led us to assign a corresponding function to house II.
The effort invested in the interior arrangement of the building reflects the careful outer shaping of the *villa* at Kamid el-Loz. The courtyard, interpreted as being the center of the house, was surrounded by eight rooms on three sides (see fig. 283). In several rooms, stone column bases were preserved, which presumably held wooden columns that were used as roof support – if also a novelty in the architecture of Kamid el-Loz or a technique applied since the Late Bronze Age (see model fig. 53) remains to be clarified. In two rooms, we found vessels or installations that demonstrated the kind of household activities that were carried out inside the building.

► Fig. 288: Installations in house II – storage jars. Source: Archive Heinz.



Room 1 functioned as a place for food storage, and room 2, with its *tannours*, was used for baking. Floors were laid with carefully smoothed stone slabs, and door frames were cased with wood. House II fell victim to a destructive fire, as massive ash layers in the courtyard revealed. The house was abandoned afterwards. The blaze, according to our interpretation of the additional evidence, seems to have just struck house II. The settlement was not abandoned, and we did not find ash layers around house III or in the area at the top of the hill.



◄ Fig. 289: Installations in house II – ovens. Source: Archive Heinz.

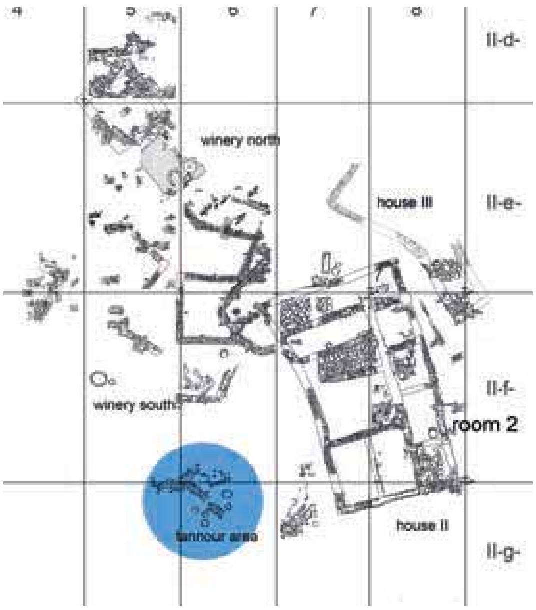
11.1.3 Some remarks on the outdoor activities on the east slope

Baking

Food preparation and processing obviously took place both inside and outside the houses at Kamid el-Loz during the period of Roman imperialism, in the public as well as in the private spheres, acording to our current interpretation of the distribution of the *tannours*. These were set up in the open area southwest of house II as well as inside house II (room 2).

We are now working on the question of the ownership and organization of the open space and the baking activities. Who controlled this area, and who owned the *tannours*? Was it common property, owned by the residents

▼ Figs 290, 291: *Tannour* areas in and around house II. Source: Archive Heinz.





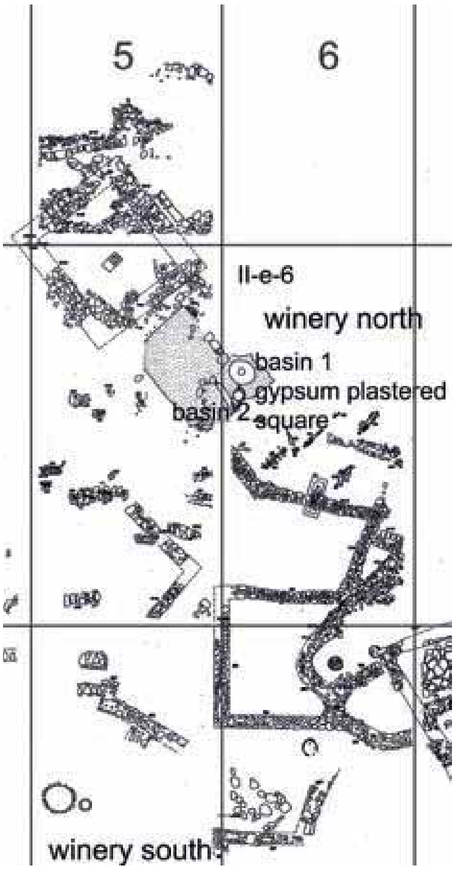
of Kamid el-Loz? Who organized the use of the baking area and how was it used? Did the area and the installations possibly belong to house II and were both subject to the control of the house owners? Ownership and usage patterns are still unclear. For understanding the social organization of households and household activities, however, these questions are relevant, and finding answers to these questions is one of our priorities (see as well or reflections hereof in chapter 9.1.3.1).

Wine making

Two outdoor installations are interpreted by us as "wineries" (see fig. 283 and figs 291 – 293). North of house II, the settlers set up an installation consisting of a large, gypsum-plastered square and two reservoirs. The floor of the plastered square sloped slightly toward basin no. 1, with which it was connected by a drain. A second drain connected basin no. 1 with basin no. 2. A smaller but comparable installation stood southwest of house II (winery south).

The construction of both installations indicate that they were used for processing liquids.

Our interpretation of the function of these installations, although still preliminary, is based on the cultural and culinary habits in Roman times – it seems quite plausible to understand these installations as wine presses. Should this interpretation be correct, today's viniculture in the Beqa'a-plain looks back on a long tradition.



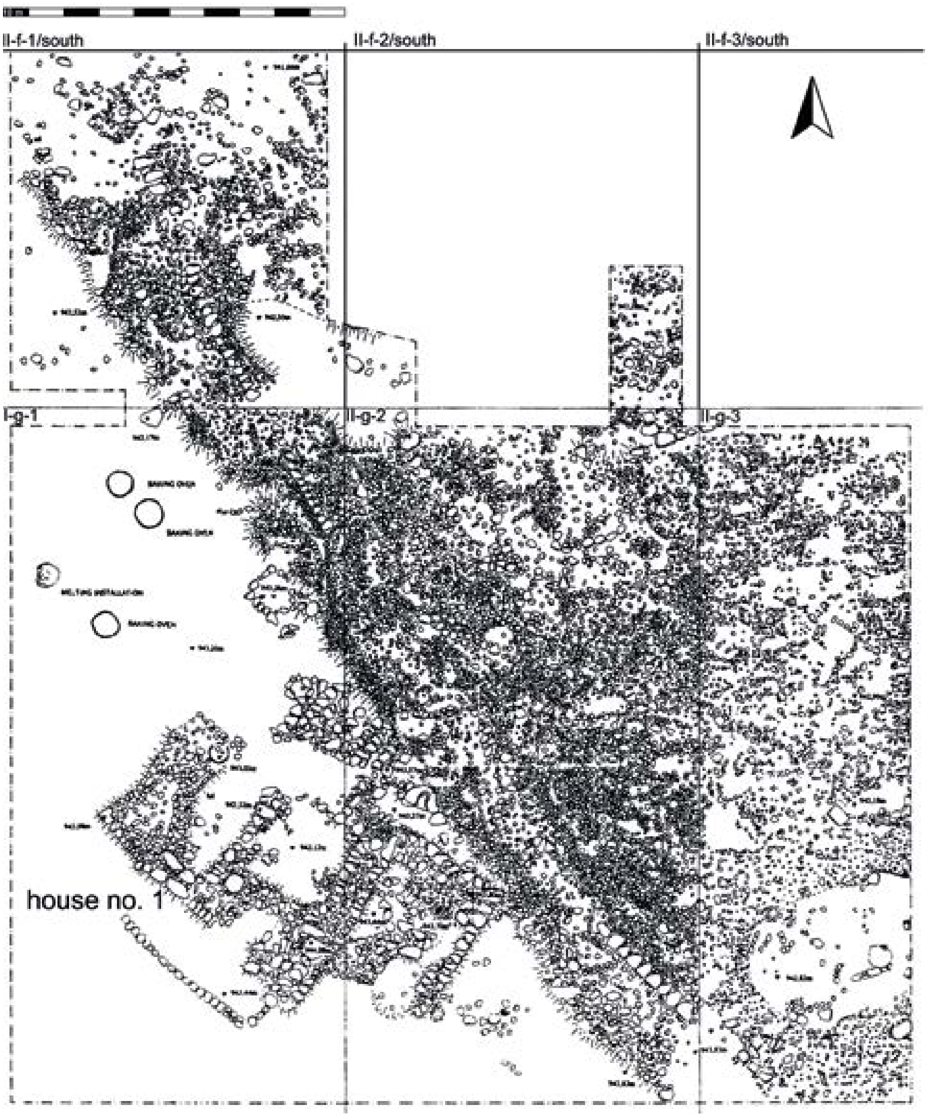




► Figs 292-294: Winery installations. Source: Archive Heinz.

11.2 House I, the workshop on the "Kuppe"

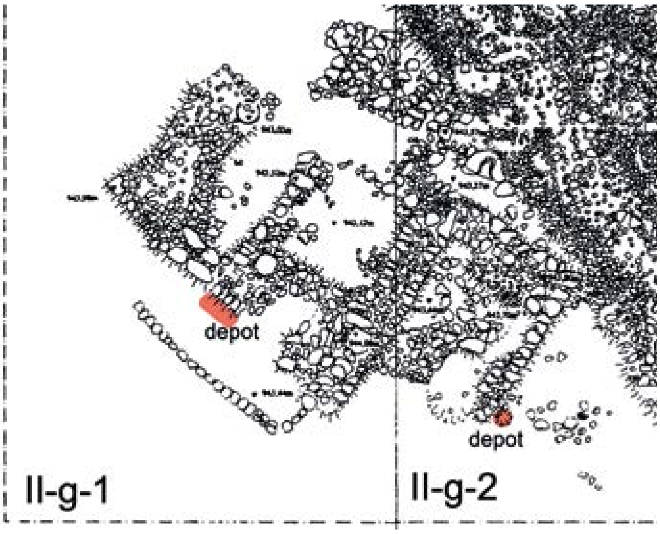
Another building, house I, was set up on the so-called "Kuppe," the hilltop. It differs in its floor plan from the buildings on the east slope as well as from all other houses throughout the history of Kamid el-Loz that we have been able to study so far. Although we uncovered only parts of house I, we can ascertain that the building consisted of at least two rooms, a courtyard, and a long entrance floor. It was smaller than the buildings on the east slope and less intricately designed. The builders used only roughly hewn or unhewn stones for the walls, and no floor was covered with smoothed stone slabs.



◄ Fig. 295: House I, the workshop on the "Kuppe". Source: Archive Heinz.

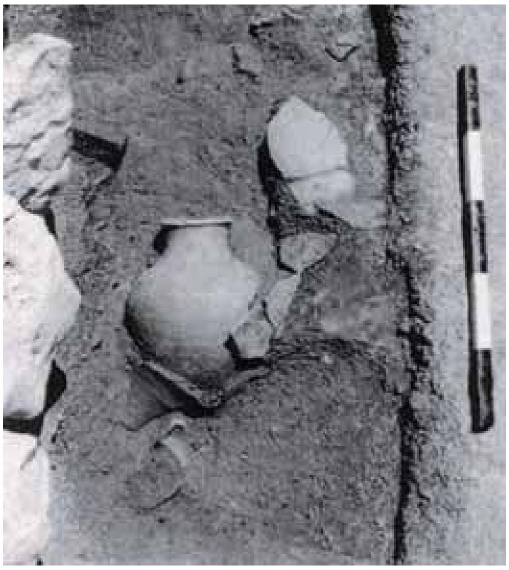
The settlers, however, used one feature that was unique to the settlement not only during the period of Roman imperialism but also for the history of Kamid el-Loz altogether. At two corners of house I, they deposited vessels, which we interpreted as part of a ritual connected either to the process of house building or to the specific character and function of house I.

► ▼ Figs 296-299: House I, the workshop on the "Kuppe" and the location of deposits (top and middle). Vessel deposits around the workshop (bottom). Source: Archive Heinz.



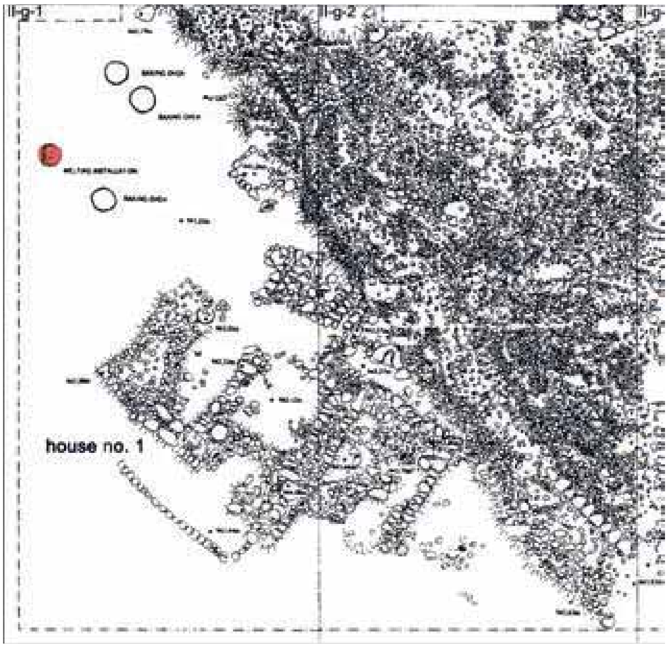


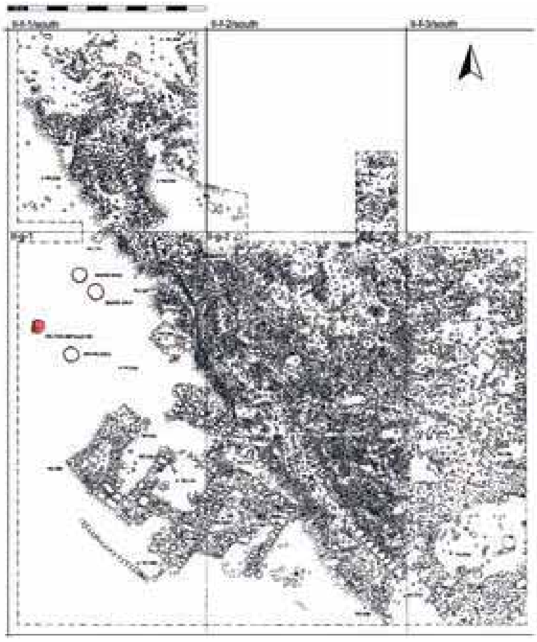




House I abuts a large open area to the northwest that the settlers used for household as well as for handicraft activities.
Several *tannours* were distributed over the area, indicating that household activities took place there. For us, surprisingly, a small smelting installation stood in between the *tannours*; for the users, obviously, it was unproblematic. Slag remains, bronze fragments, and pieces of glass bracelets lay scattered around this installation, while a bronze fibula was left on top of the installation.
In a central location of the site, the residents thus established a workshop where they presumably processed glass and metal.

▼ Figs 300, 301: Area with *tannours* and smelting installation. Source: Archive Heinz.









◄ Figs 302, 303: Bronze *fibula* and glass arm ring (fragments). Source: Archive Heinz.

11.3 A very short review: What, then, characterized the "Roman period" area of the living on the east slope?

The residential area of the "Roman" settlement was functionally heterogeneous. The settlers set up houses with a variety of details and innovations not known before at Kamid el-Loz, among them the presentation of the wall foundations and the roof design. At the same time, a variety of other aspects follow the customs of rural settlements known for hundreds of years. The houses were used for household activities, which we were able to determine on the basis of several installations. Food was stored exclusively

inside the house, while food processing and the preparation of meals took place inside as well as outside the buildings. Wine making was carried out in especially prepared areas outside the houses, which were set up a certain distance from the residential buildings. The location of the workshop on the "Kuppe" away from the direct neighborhood of the residential houses may be considered as a safety measure as well as a means to avoid troubling the residents with unpleasant smells, disturbing them with noise, and exposing them to dust.

Another significant decision of the settlers distinguished the "Roman" use from prior utilizations of the east slope. For the first time the east slope served as both a habitation for the living as well as housing for the deceased, while the concurrent use of the same area for the living and the deceased was already practiced at Kamid el-Loz during the urban Bronze Age developments.

11.4 The life of the living and life of the dead: In direct contact on the east slope for the first time

Among the innovations that the residents of the "Roman" settlement introduced at Kamid el-Loz were three new developments in the burial customs. The dead were now entombed in massive stone sarcophagi – up to 10 dead could be buried in one grave – and for the first time on the east slope the settlers now buried their dead in the immediate neighborhood of their *villas*. So far, we excavated three of these sarcophagi.

Two of them (no. 1 and no. 2) are plain stone boxes with plain stone lids, while one (no. 3) is intricately designed and decorated.

Three of the outer sides of the decorated sarcophagus (no. 3) show engraved window-like frames, while on one of the small sides, a massive lion

► Fig. 304: The east slope: the area of the living and the dead. Source: Archive Heinz.







◄▼ Figs 305-309: The sarcophagi from Kamid el-Loz. Source: Archive Heinz.







head was carved out of the stone. Comparable sarcophagi are know from the contemporaneous site of Baalbek. The decorated sarcophagus as well as one of the plain ones (no. 2) each contained only one corpse, while in the other plain sarcophagus (no. 1), ten deceased were entombed. Moreover, on the floor of this sarcophagus we found two burial gifts – a golden finger ring and a coin. So far, we not yet know what it actually meant that single and multiple burials occurred side by side. In our study on the subject "The life of the living and the life of the dead" we will pursue this question in detail. Yet another aspect awaits clarification. In the core areas of the Roman Empire, burying the dead in the habitat of the living was not allowed. What value, we ask, did the rules of the imperialists have far away from the center of political power – that is, in the peripheries of this empire? This question

is relevant not just at Kamid el-Loz but also for all such imperialistic power constellations.

Conclusions: Innovation and tradition at Kamid el-Loz during the period of Roman imperialism – and beyond

The material remains of the period of Roman imperialism at Kamid el-Loz differ in nearly all aspects from the older legacies. New house types were introduced. New roof structures appeared, including the new technical knowledge that was needed for building slanted roofs and making roof tiles. A lot of time was invested in working stone and building exposed masonry. New technical knowledge was also needed and employed in local glass production, and new food patterns necessitated new knowledge and techniques for wine making. The burial habits differed in three ways from former funeral traditions in using stone sarcophagi for the first time, in allowing (again) multiple burials (see palace P 4, chapter 8.3.5.1), and in placing the graves in the immediate neighborhood of the residential houses. The principle of integration now characterized the relationship between the living and the dead, while the principle of segregation kept at the same time the location of the *villas* and the handicraft area apart – a new spatial organization and a new space were established.

The scope of innovations was thus great at Kamid el-Loz during this period. The settlers showed very close cultural bonds to the so-called Roman culture. The question is why this was so. Was it because it was fashionable for the wealthy to live a "Roman lifestyle"? This is one of the possibilities we should consider carefully. As we all know from our own everyday lives, global trade supplies us with commodities that are desirable and fashionable, whether the original or a copy is imported; the latter is not infrequently made locally. Other explanations are possible. Is the background of this cultural change rather to be sought in the resettlement of migrants from the Roman heartland who brought their traditions and customs to Kamid el-Loz? This may also be an answer to our question as to what triggered the far-reaching cultural change. It is especially the changing burial customs that make this explanation seem plausible. Burial traditions are a long-established locus of traditional values; we have already discussed this aspect several times in our present study. Migrants, living in a culture other than the one in which they were socialized, will continue the traditional proper handling of their deceased. Wherever possible, will they bury their dead according to their local and religious traditions. The multiple alterations in the burial customs at Kamid el-Loz during the Roman period might hint at this situation. The question of who the settlers at Kamid el-Loz were during the Roman period is still an open one and is one of the subjects we are currently studying.

The social and political order of the settlement is another aspect that needs to be carefully studied. So far, we cannot yet identify any building as the seat of a local political institution. We see the effort expended for building the large house II, and we see the difference between the workshop building and house II. We do not yet have any evidence, however, that would allow us to identify a function for house II other than that of a residential *villa*. The political organization at the periphery of the Roman Empire – that is,

the local conditions as well as the function of Kamid el-Loz during that time – is a study that still needs to be conducted.

Yet another aspect remains to be studied: the organization of the economic sphere. For the first time in the history of Kamid el-Loz, the settlers use coins – Roman coins – thus, the currency of the foreign dominating power. The appearance of coins raises a variety of questions. Who used coins, who had access to coins, and in which economic transactions were coins indispensable? How were the economic actions within the community and among the residents organized? Were there parallel regulatory systems that worked with or without the use of coins? We are working on this issue.

The precise dating of the end of the Roman period settlement is still a matter of debate; the reason for the abandonment is unknown so far, and a search for explanations is currently underway. What we can say, however, is that an immense effort was undertaken after the Roman period to cover the entire site with densely set, small stones, a covering we call a "glacis." To clarify when, why, and by whom this "glacis" or covering was spread is another tricky research question awaiting us.



◄ Fig. 310: The so-called glacis covering the site. Source: Archive Heinz.

It is said by the residents of today's Kamid el-Loz that a Byzantine church once stood in the southwestern part of the *tell*, which, however, had been destroyed. Monumental hewn stones, scattered over this area, might confirm the hint on the existence of such a building. This part of the site has not yet been excavated and can no longer be explored. It was recently covered by the enlargement of the modern cemetery. It cannot be excluded that settlement activities might have ceased after the Roman-Byzantine period. The site, however, was not totally abandoned, but has repeatedly been used – as throughout its entire previous history – as burial place. In the area of the "Kuppe," we uncovered burials set into the "glacis" and superimposed over the "Roman" evidence. Since the 1960's, the today's cemetery, located on top of the former Bronze Age palace area and the today's mosque, established on the southern part of the ancient site were brought into use.

Further Reading:

VII. Residential area east-slope
BAAL 8, 2004: 86ff.
BAAL H.S. VII, 2010: 9ff.
BAAL 10, 2006: 85ff.

X. "Kuppe"
BAAL 5, 2001: 18ff.

The period of Roman imperialism (30 B.C. – 300 A.D.): A short summary in table form

Period	Evidence							
Roman period	- **residen-tial area west**	- **area west of the palace**	- **palace area**	- **admin-istrative area**	- **temple area**	workshop, metal, glass **“Kuppe” area**	residences, burials, working areas **east slope, former residen-tial area**
Hellenis-tic period	- **residen-tial area west**	living houses 1 and 2 **area west of the palace**	- **palace area**	- **admin-istrative area**	- **temple area**	**NEW:** working precinct **“Kuppe” area**	burials **east slope, former residen-tial area east**
IA III	Transformation of the site from a settlement to a cemetery							
IA II	Houses building period 1, building levels 3-1 building period 2, building levels 6-5/4 **central area / residential area north** (former temple, palace, administrative areas)							*tannours* in decaying remains of house 1, IA 1 and house 2, LBA II **residen-tial area east**
IA I	8-9 houses building period 3, building levels 8-7 **central area / residential area north** (former temple, palace, administrative areas)							house 1 **residen-tial area east**

III.
The Concerns of Archaeology

A summary and an outlook for the future

At the very end of writing this book, I want to look back at the beginnings of this undertaking and recall what our objectives were, and still are, when excavating at Kamid el-Loz as well as what the intentions were when planning and writing the present book.
The reader who is endowed with a long memory may skip the following pages. The reader who considers it desirable to find, at the end of a study, a concise summary of the numerous results worked out, the observations made, and the questions asked, may find the following compilation helpful.

How is the task of archaeological research that forms the basis of our excavations as well as the basis for the insights we gained through our work at Kamid el-Loz to be understood?
Archaeologists are obliged, in the first instance, to be interested in humans. As an archaeologist, I engage in tracing the thoughts and actions of humans over the course of time. My main interest as an archaeologist is thus seeking out the modes of life in the past and detecting the needs of people, their options, and opportunities to implement their particular notions of what a good life is and how to achieve it. To be able to understand the social affairs that shaped the past, archaeologists have to be acquainted with the general social sciences' findings about how societies "function". Only when archaeologists are familiar with these basics can they try to understand social issues of the past. Only with this knowledge of the social sciences at hand will they be able to develop the questions needed to inquire into the social circumstances of the past. The overarching question of an anthropological archaeology is, why did and do people live the way they live?

The dialectics between the immaterial world of social life, its potential material precipitation and the material remains excavated
As anthropological archaeologists dealing with the issues of social life, we consequently ask if, how, and why immaterial aspects of the social world may correlated directly or indirectly with the material remains. In order to explore this dialectic, we examine the processes that create the material heritage and investigate the intentions and aims humans follow when they create their material world. Intentional actions always have unintended outcomes as well. We consider if, how, and why those unintentional outcomes may also manifest themselves in the material heritage of a society, such as in the physical layout and the architectural stock of a settlement. As anthropological archaeologists, we thus constantly reflect the methodological and theoretical aspects concerning the question of what archaeological research can find out about the immateriality of thinking, knowing, and believing on the basis of analyzing the material evidence and how we proceed to gain such information (see Part I, Objectives …).

The range of our questions at a glance: a recapitulatory review
With the excavation at Kamid el-Loz, we found a variety of the materialized aspects of the issues listed above – what people thought and did at Kamid el-Loz since its early beginnings (at least) 4000 years ago.

We observed that a variety of socio-political events and phenomena occurred repeatedly throughout the course of history of Kamid el-Loz – settlement foundation, settlement activities, settlement destruction, fire disaster, decay, decline, and abandonment; phases of anomie and survival in ruins, resettlement processes, and redevelopment of villages as well as of cities; and customs for dealing with the deceased and imperialistic domination of Kamid el-Loz – to name only the most conspicuous phenomena. I argue that these local processes proceeded, each according to the particular historical scope (*Möglichkeitsbedingungen*), and ended in each case in specific materialized expressions. I assume that both the initiating factors of the repeatedly reoccurring processes as well as their courses may each have been idiosyncratic and thus different from each other in every case. We observed processual reiterations, and I am searching for the invisible initiating factors that triggered the events as well as for their formation processes. While the focus of the present study was primarily on the internal site developments, our ongoing research is already engaged in correlating these local processes with the developments and the history of the neighboring sites and regions. Up to now, I presented and discussed the *stories of reoccurring events at Kamid el-Loz and their unique historical developments and results* on the basis of the architectural evolution at the site. We studied the *formation of the villages and the cities* of Kamid el-Loz, their *destructions, abandonments, and decay,* and we verified the repeated *resettlement processes* on site. Over the course of time and against the background of regular settlement activities, destructions and abandonments of the site, the people of Kamid el-Loz buried their deceased according to several divergent burial traditions. Numerous conventions characterized the way the living dealt with their deceased; that is, the events that concerned the living also affected the *"life of the dead"*. *Imperialistic domination* over the Levant, the area of today's Lebanon and Kamid el-Loz, occurred several times during the 2000 years of settlement activities at the site. I assume that these imperialistic dominations affected the inhabitants of the villages and cities of Kamid el-Loz, each in a specific way, while the general outcome was in every case a local domination.

Our exploration of the built environment, the architecture and spatial design, has already led to a great variety of insights into the modes of the life, which developed at Kamid el-Loz over time. Every new insight we gained provided us at the same time with new questions. These new and still open questions concern the reasons for the developments and address the immaterial factors behind the acting, thinking, imaginations, reflections, and beliefs – the needs and options of people. We are asking fundamental questions as to how societies, culture, traditions, religions, and economic and political systems emerge, develop, and collapse; how and why things, customs, and traditions change or remain the same over centuries; how knowledge emerges; and how it is maintained or forgotten. And I ask what this all means for the people, for the communal life, and last but not least for the survival of the people. I consider our manifold questions, even and especially those still unanswered, not as shortcomings but as the focus of our future research. It is the exploration of how archaeologists bridge the gap and establish the connection between the visible material world and the underlying invisible causes, reasons, intentions, and contingencies – the norms, values, needs, options, and potentials that shaped the material world

– to find out which actions left material evidence and which ones did not – thus, what was maintained and what disappeared for whatever reason from the archaeological context that guide us in our research interests. I understand our questions not only as the common threads through our ongoing and upcoming work for and at Kamid el-Loz but also as the "leitmotiv" through the present concluding chapter. The abundance of our questions and the broadness of the spectrum that our questions encompass result from our general interest in humans and their actions, and I hold that the spectrum of questions asked and the maintained archaeological material excavated interact with each other in a creative dialectic.

The two-way alternate communication between our questions and the excavated material

The earliest beginnings at Kamid el-Loz revealed that people living at Kamid el-Loz had a detailed knowledge concerning handicrafts, subsistence economy, and the potentials of nature at their disposal (chapter II. 1, Early beginnings … and chapter II. 2, Settlement activities continue …). In our ongoing research, we currently focus on the questions of how functional specialization and social differentiation develop and what the connections between these processes are. We observed that the inhabitants of Kamid el-Loz used decorated pots and that they modified and changed these decorations over time (chapter II. 1, Excursus: Broken pottery …). We postulate that these ornamentations function among other things as a means of communication. One of our research projects is thus dealing with questions of how the medium of decoration worked in the past, how people then dealt with signs and symbols, and what range of social and cultural meanings the decorated pots had beyond their functions as mere household items. *Communication* and the history of mankind as *animal symbolicum* (as the philosopher Ernst Cassirer, 1923–1929, characterized humans because of their capacity to use signs and symbols for understanding each other and the world surrounding them) is thus one of our fundamental research topics.
The history of Kamid el-Loz is characterized among other things by the emergence of the earliest cities in the Beqa'a plain (chapter II. 3, Urban beginnings? ...). What a city is and how archaeologists recognize urban developments are the questions that form one of the common threads running through our research concerning urban development in general and focusing on Kamid el-Loz and the Beqa'a plain. We are currently extending our strong cross-disciplinary approach, combining archaeology with the fields of urban sociology, urban geography, ethnology, and philosophy, which ask comparable questions to the ones we debate but which have a wider range of sources at their disposal. Why did the mode of life change from a village lifestyle to the urban mode of life? What does it mean when an urban society emerges, concerning the social order, the organization of the community, their political order, and their connections to the nearby communities? The store of knowledge that the people have at hand has to change in this process of urbanization. Since the organizational needs of an urban society become more complex, the social connections between the inhabitants change, as do the forms of communication, because the more people there are living in one place, the more anonymous the contacts become and the

more important non-verbal communication via signs and symbols becomes. A growing settlement on its way to an urban place connotes economic richness – but for whom? Who are the groups who benefit from urban development, and who are the ones who do the work to make urbanism possible? And do those who do the work benefit from this development and thus from their own labor?

Studying architecture implies the constant need to ascertain the functions as well as the meanings of buildings for their builders and users as well as for those who neither built nor used this architecture but had to live in the neighborhood of buildings that were not theirs. The classification of the buildings' functions and meanings implies connotations concerning social, political, and religious issues of each society that is explored. When we call a building a "palace", does this designation presuppose that the society who built such a "palace" had a political elite at the top who fulfilled the functions that are traditionally connected with this term – that is, was the society politically organized as a kingdom with a king at the top? We examine this connotation and try to find out who in the past needed monumentality in the built environment (and who needs it today) and why. Who needed (or needs) to be visible in a settlement? What functions in a community need such exposure, and who or which representatives of these functions were able, or needed to bring about such exposures and spatial designs – that is, the location and the placement of extraordinary buildings? Beyond these considerations, we ask a very basic question: Where do these ideas to set up monumental buildings as signs and symbols that point out extraordinary societal positions come from?

At Kamid el-Loz today, the mosque is the most visible building – visible as an extraordinary structure through its form, size, and location in a prominent position in the village – but why is this so? Whose tradition becomes and remains visible with the extraordinary monumental buildings? And whose tradition will not be displayed and remembered in a comparable way and manner? We also ask what material expressions of cultural, social, political, and economic facts – and thus whose traditions, habits and needs – remain unseen but were nevertheless important for people, and for whom were they important? Were they important for the so-called "general population" of Kamid el-Loz or for the elites? To clarify these issues – to find out what the functions and meanings of buildings were and how a society was organized and to make clear what the methods and the parameters are that archaeologists use to assign functions and meanings to buildings and spatial design – is one of our major research areas that keeps us busy for the time being.

We detected the first evidence for the beginning of urbanization on the basis of aggregates of burnt remains that we identified or determined as the burnt remains of once iconic buildings of Kamid el-Loz (chapter II. 4, Urban beginnings …). Burnt and collapsed walls (palace area, palace MBP 3) – that is, huge piles of burnt bricks, which indicate the destruction of monumental buildings (administrative area, phase 2 and temple area, T 6) – occurred in those areas, which we identified on the basis of better preserved, younger built structures as palace, administrative, and temple areas. We thus postulate the development of urban life at Kamid el-Loz on the basis of fragmented, burnt, and demolished, but nevertheless significant re-

mains of the first monumental buildings at the site. We verifed that the first vast conflagration hit the area after the urban mode of life began. This vast conflagration obviously led to the collapse and abandonment of this first urban settlement of Kamid el-Loz. We wonder if the violent destruction and the development of the site into an urban area were causally connected. Did urbanism lead to the violent destruction? The urban mode of life was given up for the time being, and we are currently exploring what the effects were on the residents whose houses were not destroyed by the blaze but who had left the city and on the elites whose homesteads were definitely gone.

During the first urban period, residents in the northern residential area buried some of their deceased underneath their houses. Was this custom – keeping the deceased close to the living in an increasingly anonymous community – causally connected to the emergence of the urban mode of life? The growth of cities in the ancient Near East more often than not went hand in hand with a clear demarcation of the inner from the outer space – the setting up of fortifications around the settlement; this was true at Kamid el-Loz as well. But why was this so? On whose command and for what reason was a city to be encircled by defensive walls? Did the residents fear their neighbors? Did they want to keep wild animals out? Often, the fields and the pasture were integrated at least partly into the city space – did residents want to protect these areas and thus their subsistence? Did the elite in charge want to show their visible ability to protect "their" communities? Was the fortification both practical protection against violent attacks from the outside and a means to visibly demonstrate the elite's power, wealth, and capability? Moreover, did the city wall, as in Mesopotamia, among other things demonstrate the political independence of the city from other political systems? Furthermore, the city precinct in many societies of the ancient Near East had the reputation of being civilized space, while the outer area surrounding the urban habitat was considered to be uncivilized. There are thus many connotations that go hand in hand with encircling a settlement area with a fortification wall, and one of the challenges for our ongoing research is to find out the reasons underlying the setting up the fortifications of Kamid el-Loz, including the ideological meanings of these undertakings.

The oldest palace (MBP 3) and administrative building (phase 2) uncovered so far and the oldest so-called temple (T 6) burned down. What did this possibly mean for the people, the communal life, the social order, the regularities of life, and the continuation of life at Kamid el-Loz – for the existence of the earliest known city of Kamid el-Loz so far (chapter II. 5, The first anomie …) – following the burning of city 1? We expand the range of questions asked when we think about where the administrators of these destroyed iconic buildings went after the seat of their institutions was heavily and visibly destroyed. What happened to the political administration and the cultic activities, when the palace as the home of the political elite and the temple as the home of the gods and at the same time the seat of the priests had vanished?

As the evidence shows, the majority of the people obviously left Kamid el-Loz after the blaze, among them the residents that buried their deceased within the sphere of their houses. When we act on the assumption that the dead were members of the families who were residing in these houses, the

question arises as to how the latter, assuming they had survived the burnings of the city, could have dared to abandon their dead? Who would have taken care of the dead when the living abandoned their homes? Leaving the dead without securing their care was, according to the textual evidence we have for the coeval societies in Mesopotamia, unacceptable behavior that would have caused severe problems in the life of the bereaved. Why thus did the house owners go or dare to go and thus abandon their dead?

Although the majority of people seem to have left Kamid el-Loz after the blaze, and although the once familiar social, cultural, political, religious, and economic order had dissolved, some people, according to the evidence we observed, continued to live at Kamid el-Loz. The question comes up as to who these people were. Residents from Kamid el-Loz who survived the disaster and for one reason or another decided to stay in their once verdant surroundings? People from outside, who ensconced themselves permanently in the ruins? Just passersby? In two areas, these people left signs of squatter occupation. In the temple area, wall structures and a stone cist grave indicate interim utilization. Whether the activities here were cultic or simply household activities remains to be clarified. The burial, however, was uniqe, as in the entire history of Kamid el-Loz this type of grave occurred only once – only here, in the former (and later) temple precinct and solely during this first phase of anomie. The settlers or squatters, however, placed more burials – simple pits, the dead buried without any grave goods – in the now abandoned and decayed northern residential area. As the reader may recall, this area was a burial place before! During the phase of the first city, some deceased were buried here underneath the houses, while the residents were still living in these buildings. We are questioning whether those who placed their deceased into the decayed houses had any knowledge about the habit of the former settlers who buried their dead underneath the houses. The question is thus, who were those who used the decayed houses for burials? The former residents, bringing back their deceased to their former homes? The former residents, who stayed in the devastated city to take care of the deceased? People who by chance came to Kamid el-Loz, either squatters or members of mobile groups? Our research on this phase of settlement abandonment as well as settlement activities at Kamid el-Loz thus encompasses the question of what brought people to live in an abandoned place or to bury their deceased in an abandoned place and in the rubble of decayed buildings, not in connection with a permanent living place and not in a particular burial place?

How the living dealt with their dead, the traditions that gave rise to burial rites, the needs and options of people to find solutions for burying their dead, people who might have had experienced disastrous life circumstances, mobile groups acting according to their routine way of life, and squatters who perhaps just accidentally came to the decaying place of Kamid el-Loz are research topics that we are working on. Exploring modes of life; causes for, reactions to, and the survival of a disaster; how people dealt with tradition, especially burials and cultic activities, which are relevant for both the actual ongoing life of the living and for securing future life – among the living as well as in the netherworld; and how people handled disastrous situations are the subjects that we are currently researching.

Although the first city of Kamid el-Loz was entirely given up and most people abandoned the urban mode of life, the location and its potentials for living were not forgotten. After a period of yet unknown duration, the first anomie ended and the resettlement of Kamid el-Loz – that is, the buildup of a new city, now city 2 of Kamid el-Loz, was initiated (chapter II. 6, City 2 …). We ask what a place looked like when it was abandoned for a while and what the new settlers came upon when they arrived. What did they know about the first city's appearance, about the functions carried out at Kamid el-Loz, the social order, the political organization, and the local cultural and religious traditions? Since the spatial design of the first city was reactivated and the rubble of the burnt buildings was removed, do we assume that remains of the former buildings were still visible? But why keep them – why not create an entirely new layout? Because people wanted to reactivate their former traditions, their habitat, and their known and familiar environment? Because they wanted to return to their former lives? Or was it just simpler for those who resettled at Kamid el-Loz to use the old structures instead of building an entirely new city? Obviously, the violent destruction of a building was not a bad portent that would have eliminated any further utilization of the building's remains and the building's location. The fact that people reestablished the site of Kamid el-Loz leads us to further questions concerning the immaterial spheres of living: Who initiated the resettlement? Who knew the potential of Kamid el-Loz as a living place? Did the former social order redevelop, as the built order might suggest, or did an entirely new social order emerge? What happened to those who were once the political and religious elite, farmers, traders, livestock owners, and handicraft specialists? Who was now the political elite – who were the priests? Did the ruling groups have any connections with those elites that left Kamid el-Loz after the first burning ?

The new settlers took over the former city plan and the spatial design and rebuilt the temple (now T 5 / T 4), the palace (now MBP 2), and the administrative area (now phase 1) on their respective former locations. They obviously needed, as before, iconic buildings that dominated the visible layout of the city, and they were economically able to afford such monumental buildings. But why and how did a hierarchical order reemerge, and why did the resettlement bring back a hierarchical order to society? During the anomie, people experienced the fact that living at Kamid el-Loz without this strict order was possible. How thus does a social order develop? How does knowledge survive? How was the knowledge to build, plan, and create the second city of Kamid el-Loz preserved – that is, where did the handicrafts, the planning, and the imaginative knowledge of the new residents come from, and how did the redevelopment of the communal and social order proceed? We looked at the layout of the palace and the temple and considered how the buildings were utilized by analyzing their structural order and interior design. Size, form, and location make the monumental architecture as such stand out, and based on the uniqueness in form, we ask, who was now, and in former times, allowed to enter the palace or to enter the temple, and who was kept outside? The palace was, as before, again separated from the living areas while the temple, as in the first city's layout, was integrated into the residential area. Nevertheless, those responsible for the cultic area took measures to encircle the temple (temple T 4) with a wall and separate it

off – that is, they made it possible to control entry to the building. We ask, why did they do so? Why integrate a temple into the residential area when at the same time the the cultic area was visibly separated from the mundane surroundings? Why set up a barrier between the houses and the temple, when integration was the overarching concept? The social meaning of architecture and the use of architecture to express order and power, functions of people, and aspects of integration and segregation within a community are among the research topics we are working on. What information do we get about the local social order and organization at Kamid el-Loz, the functional use of the temple and the palace, and the social integration of the priesthood as well as of the mundane elites? How can archaeologists gain insights into the social, cultural, religious, and political areas of society? And how do we integrate and apply the insights of other related fields, including the sociology of architecture, the history of religion, ethnology, and philosophy?

In the northern area of city 2, the settlers set up a new residential quarter. They built over the older decayed remains of the former settlement, which also meant that they built over the burials that had been placed there during the first phase of anomie. Our questions concerning this action relate to the reasons for and meaning of this action. Did the new settlers know about the former use of decayed house remains as an interim burial place? Or did they build over the burials unknowingly? Was any former use of this district perhaps no longer relevant for the newcomers since they had no relation whatsoever to the former traditions and customs of that location? Or, on the contrary, was the building over of the burials an act of reviving the old tradition of keeping the dead close to the living? We are currently dealing with these questions that connect archaeological studies with social scientific research in general and provide yet another basis for the interdisciplinary research that characterizes archaeological research.

The second city of Kamid el-Loz developed into a flourishing city, at least for the elites, as we can see from the monumental architecture, the quality of handicraft, and expenditure invested in the palace and the temple.

This, however, prevented neither the inhabitants from being affected by another attack against their home town nor the buildings from being destroyed – the second city burned, as had the first city. The questions we ask to explain what had happened are the same as those that we asked to explain the first disaster. At the same time, we consider whether the burning of the first and the second city happened for the same reasons. Or is it possible that although the outcome of the destructions look the same, the reasons were entirely different? That has to be explored, and it is a challenge for archaeology to set out methodologically how this differentiation in the causes of a disaster might be explored. We are currently evaluating several approaches that might lead to an explanation of the blazes. The destructions might have been due to violence from neighboring enemies against Kamid el-Loz. They might have been the outcomes of local problems or rebellions at the site or the results of casualties. Last but not least, it might be possible to think about each of the burnings as an act of keeping the tradition and local order alive. In neighboring Mesopotamia, the communities carried out cleansing rituals, burning the iconic locations and thus cleansing them with fire, and then set up the public buildings on the cleansed locations. Such a

tradition might explain why the living and residential areas were, as a rule, excluded from the burnings as well as why maintaining the urban spatial design over centuries was possible, if not actually desirable and needed (chapter II. 6, Excursus: Abandonment and resettlement, people and processes).
The burning of the second Middle Bronze Age city was followed by a second phase of anomie (chapter II. 7, A second anomie affected the city of Kamid el-Loz …). Once again people lived in the ruins and used the former representative buildings for squatter occupation, and this behavior brought up again some questions and motivates the ongoing research project. Who dared to use the once auratic place of a palace for household activities – but was the small house on top of the burned palace indeed a simple house? Could it not have been the interim substitute for the palace, a makeshift building that was needed after the cleansing of the location with fire, with which the people bridged the situation of a city without a palace, a period that lasted as long as the new iconic building was not yet ready to be moved into? And how can archaeologists find out what the circumstances actually were?
The abandoned temple area was also (and again, as during the first anomie) used by the squatters; whether it was used for cultic functions or mere household activities is not yet clear. We are currently dealing with the question of what the squatters possibly knew about the former function of this building and location and the former city and its traditions – the rules and regulations and how which building was used by whom. That is, we are exploring what the squatters possibly had in common with the former settlers of Kamid el-Loz – the elites and the general population and their norms and values. Understanding which customs, traditions, norms, and values squatters live by is a complex research topic that awaits our attention. The abovementioned questions and research topics are related to our research on the burial customs of the time as well. During the second phase of anomie, the settlers at Kamid el-Loz once again implemented new burial habits. They placed a newborn into a cavity of the southern wall of the small house set up on the demolished and burnt former palace building, and they placed another child into a large vessel and located this burial next to a *tannour* in the former and now burnt administrative area. They threw several deceased into a pit in the western residential area. We cannot delineate regular burial habits for this phase of anomie, but we are studying the solutions people had to find to deal with the disorder during this phase of the interim habitation at Kamid el-Loz.
Why people stayed in the abandoned city, how they made their living, how they developed a kind of order and normality, how they established rules and regulations for life with each other, how they took care of their dead, and how they survived with the provisional arrangements they set up are among the questions we are investigating.
The second phase of anomie ended, and the third and last city of Kamid el-Loz emerged (chapter II. 8, The third – and the last – city of Kamid el-Loz, then named *Kumidi* ...). Again, the city space and spatial design were preserved despite the preceding anomie and abandonment. The old urban order of the spatial location of the iconic buildings as well the former residential areas was maintained. The need to have a palace (P 5, P 4, P 3, P 2/1) and a temple (T 3, T 2, T 1) came back to the community of Kamid el-Loz.

Forms and sizes of the iconic buildings – the palace and the administrative area as well as the temple – now followed entirely new ideas and concepts. The way people expressed their demand for a palace and a temple building was once again different than it was before, as was the requirement of the elites to see themselves formally and visibly represented during the third phase of urban development.

Our question is anew, why was this so?

How people then dealt with the dead was again different. Although the dead were kept close to the sphere of the living, the burial installed in the palace (P 4d) was exceptional in location as well as the amount of burial gifts given to the dead, the two children and the one adult (chapter II. 8.3.5.1, The burials ...). For the first and only time in the entire history of Kamid el-Loz, children were buried with a large number of luxury goods. Why was this so, and why did it take place during the period of time when the Egyptians took over control of Kamid el-Loz? Were these burial customs and the political development on site causally connected? Surprising as the burial was, in its richness and dedication to children, what happened to it was even more surprising. It was soon forgotten, the burial site decayed, and it was built over by a palace tract. The "story" of this burial raises questions as to who the deceased were and who dared to neglect the dead – where did those who should have taken care of their deceased live?

Not only the burial site was modified. The palace itself experienced several highly visible modifications. Every modification we found raises questions as to why these changes in form were needed, who initiated the changes, and if the changes in form were connected to changes in function, utilization, and ownership. Who represented her- or himself with what signs and symbols in the form of what palace building? Architectural sociology, as well as the political and religious sciences, will be consulted by us for their insights into such processes and their explanatory potential. We also consider the political history and the history of events at the time. Can archaeology trace a possible causal connection, as indicated or asked above, between the Egyptian superpower, then ruling among other cities Kamid el-Loz, the new forms – signs and symbols – activated with the modifications of the palace building, and the representational needs of the Egyptians, the foreign rulers at Kamid el-Loz? The maintenance of the spatial design and thus the old local tradition and at the same time the modification of the iconic buildings – was this a clever political strategy of the foreign power to be visibly present, combing the known and the new and thereby reassuring the locals that the new would be consistent with the old?

What the reasons were for the changes in form, the innovations and at the same time the retaining of some of the local traditions, and the impulses behind the cultural development of a site as well as underlying social developments of a community over time constitute another major research topic that connects our archaeological research with cultural studies, including the fields of political science, ethnology, sociology and anthropology.

Into this research project we integrate our studies on the temple development – the emergence of the twin temple of Kamid el-Loz (T 2) (chapter II.8.7.2, Temple T 2: …) – and the reason for copying the form of the older temple and thus doubling the cultic space at Kamid el-Loz. What did this large-scale expansion mean – more power for the cultic elite by more repre-

sentative spatial occupation? The worship of new gods? A change in cultic activities, new rituals that went hand in hand with more required space? A better visibility within the city in comparison to the palace? A power demonstration to the residents, of whom some had to give up their houses to make this enlargement of the temple possible? In addition, another question occurs concerning the latter issue. Did the people give up their houses voluntarily or were they forced to do so? Moreover, does archaeological research have the means to find out (chapter II.8.8.1, Living west …)?

Large residential areas are maintained for the third city of Kamid el-Loz, in the north, in the west, and in the east. We intend to enlarge the excavation areas in order to find out the characteristics of these areas on a larger basis. It is to be assumed that the differences in form, already recognizable among the houses and areas, may indicate the settling of different social groups in each of the districts.

For us it is thus of interest to deal with the overall changes and continuities that occurred with the third and last city of Kamid el-Loz. We are studying the phenomenon of how far new forms and conceptions correspond to the old as well as to new functions and imaginations of representation. Representation via spatial design remained traditional in the palace and temple area as well as in the residential areas west and north. Representation via form, however, used new rules and regulations, norms and customs. Where the new ideas came from, why the new forms were needed, how new forms of buildings developed, and who initiated the new forms and renounced the old is one of our research subjects. We are also looking for answers as to what further changes actually occurred when the form and design of the iconic buildings as well as those of the residential houses were altered. Functional utilization? The ideals, norms, and values of representation and acting as secular or religious elites? The social order of families and households? The size, structure, and organization of daily life?

Of course, our questions are once again connected to the ones we asked before: who were the people who resettled Kamid el-Loz and who built up the third city at the site?

A complex future research project emerges from the ups and downs of the city's fate, visible in the material remains, while at the same time their underlying reasons and processes are largely unexplained. The planned research will be guided by questions exploring the causes of each destruction, the process of abandonment, the organization of squatter occupation, the course of resettlement, the development of burial habits, and the development of social orders in every phase of the site's utilization.

The third city finally suffered the same fate as the older ones: the residents left the city, and this time the abandonment coincided with the end of the urban mode of life at Kamid el-Loz (chapter II.8.9., Late Bronze Age *Kumidi:* …). Why this far-reaching change happened and how the overall political history – the collapse of the Egyptian empire, the collapse of the economic connections of the city and the Beqa'a plain, and the emergence of new global powers – was among the causal factors that led to this development are still not clear but are part of our research. Could environmental causes also have led to the final abandonment of urban life – worsening environmental conditions, not enough food, perhaps diseases, epidemics, and rural

depopulation? All these aspects, political, environmental, and health issues, are part of our research.

After the decline of the urban mode of life, however, Kamid el-Loz was not entirely abandoned as habitat. Life went on at Kamid el-Loz but now under changed circumstances. Village life returned to the site (Chapter II. 9., During the Iron Age ...). Monumental architecture no longer was part of the habitat. The institutions of the palace and the temple were either no longer needed or their representatives no longer needed iconic buildings (or could no longer afford them). Obviously, living at the site was now possible without the palace and the temple, and, other than during the phases of anomie, was on a regulated basis.

The residents continued to set up and use the houses on the east slope and in the west – that is, both areas served as residential districts – and at the same time they established a new area for residential use – the former temple area. This was now transformed in form and in function into another living precinct, characterized inter alia by a new form of architecture, the post-hole buildings, which we interpret as a sign of a new mode of living. We wonder where this new knowledge and need came from and who resided in such built structures instead of the former traditional houses built of stone and brick. Was the post hole-building suitable for the cold climate that dominates the Beqa'a plain during the winter? Or did these buildings, perhaps among them also tents, constitute the homes of those who were living as mobile groups, only staying in summer in these homes? We postulate that people now lived permanently at Kamid el-Loz side by side with mobile groups who used the site on occasion (chapter II. 9.1, The new beginnings …). We are interested in researching what kind of social order these "mixed" communities had. How was the joint settlement of permanent dwellers and mobile groups organized? How was this order built up, what economic order did the residents have, and what functions did the permanent residents and the mobile groups have in and for this community? Living without a palace and temple was possible, but why and how? Was there no longer any religious and political elite, or was their representation just different? Was there no longer a social and functional hierarchy, or was it just another form of hierarchy that did not need iconic buildings to represent the ruling order? Was hierarchy there, but should simply not be represented through monumental architecture? We ask whether the municipal organization was now working on the basis of communal consultations instead of top down decrees. We are researching how and why different collections of knowledge, technologies, and styles of living emerged at Kamid el-Loz. In any case, we observe a major break with the former traditions of life at the site, and we search for the reasons that caused this break and for the consequences that this break had on the local living conditions. Over the course of the Iron Age, the buildings of all three living areas fell victim to a major blaze (chapter II. 9.1.4, The end of the first Iron Age Settlement …), and obviously most people then left the site. This is an incident – a disaster and its consequences – that we know already from the former development of Kamid el-Loz, although at that time the blazes destroyed the iconic buildings. Again, however, some people found solutions as to how to carry on. In two districts, the central area and the east slope, we found signs of reoccupation (chapter 9.2, After the burning …). Modifications

occurred in the architectural style and building technique of the houses, while the village mode of life was maintained. At the very end of the Iron Age II phase, this second phase of village life ended. The settlers left the site, but for what reason is still unknown. No signs of violent destruction on a large scale were observed by us. Leaving a settlement, after a blaze or for other reasons, is always a major decision for those who are leaving. The people lose their homes, their familiar surroundings, their social communities, their networks, their economic livelihood, and their culture, customs, and traditions. At Kamid el-Loz, we observed not only the abandonment of settlements but also squatter occupation as well as the resettlement of the site. We detected the change from village life to the urban mode of life, deurbanization, and reurbanization. Such transformations in the modes of life, according to our thesis, were among those major events that changed everything in the lives of the concerned. What thus caused the many, different, far-reaching interventions in the lives of the settlers at Kamid el-Loz is one of several research projects that we are currently working on. The abandonment of the second Iron Age settlement of Kamid el-Loz was accompanied by a second major break from any cultural tradition that we have recorded so far for the people's activities at Kamid el-Loz. The entire site was now transformed into a large burial field (chapter II. 9.4, Another major cultural change: ...). This transformation was initiated during the period when the Persians dominated the area, including the Levant, the area of today's Lebanon, and thus the Beqa'a plain as well. We are exploring what the possible causes for this major change might have been and how we should imagine the living conditions at the site. No residence or residential area or any other houses are known so far for this time period at Kamid el-Loz. Where did the people who buried their deceased there – hundreds of them – live? How thus is this transformation to be explained? How can archaeologists find out what brought people first to abandon the residential areas and then to set up, in a former living area, a burial ground? Most important is the question of who the people who were responsible for this transformation were – locals, newcomers, people socialized in the local tradition, or people coming from an entirely different cultural context?

The analysis of the burials has shown that these were on the one hand characterized by one and the same burial customs and on the other hand characterized by far-reaching differences. All of the deceased were buried in the same manner. Every single person was put inside a simple pit. The supplying of the dead with burial gifts, with provisions for the underworld, however, was divergent. Some of the deceased were very well provided with goods, while some had no goods at all at their disposal. What did this mean concerning the care of the dead? What kind of life did those who were buried with or without goods lead, and what kind of life would they live in the underworld? What does it mean that some people got burial gifts and other none? If the gifts provided for good living in the underworld, what happened to the people without burial goods in the netherworld? Why would some bereaved equip their dead with a rich grave inventory, and why would they bury some without any provisions? What thus did the existence or the absence of grave goods "say" not only about the deceased but also, if not primarily, about the bereaved? And last but not least, for the first time in the history of Kamid el-Loz, people established a large and organized

burial field at the site, which did not connect the deceased in any way to the sphere of the living, but explicitly isolated the sphere of the dead from the sphere of the living! A custom thus emerged that deviated from all preceding traditions. Previous burial traditions all were characterized by keeping the dead close to the sphere of the living (early MBA II, city 1: burials in the northern residential area underneath the houses [chapter II. 4.1.4]; anomie 1: burials in the northern residential area in the decaying houses and a stone cist grave in the former temple area [chapter II. 5.]; anomie 2: burial in the hollow of a house wall in the former palace area, burial near a *tannour* in the former administrative area, and a burial pit in the former residential area, west [chapter II. 7.]; late LBA I, city 3 elite burial in the palace P 4d [chapter II. 8.3.5.1]).

For the first time, the dead were thus excluded from the area of the living, a way of dealing with the deceased that depicted not just a major break in form from local traditions. This behavior presented a far more significant break in the people's imagination of how the living and the dead should be connected. The presentation of the social cohesion of a community – the cohesion between the dead and the living as members of a community – had changed radically. The dead were now, in contrast to the previous periods, no longer members of the community of the living.

According to social scientific theories, burial customs are conservative in value; that is, people stick to burial customs wherever possible and wherever they live, whether at home or in a diaspora. The question of why people now separated the dead from the living becomes even more puzzling, and once more we ask who the people were who had initiated this major cultural break, which occurred during the phase of the Persian domination over the area. We are working on this aspect, which is part of our overarching research theme "The life of the living and the life of the dead". Archaeological research and the insights of sociology, ethnology, religious studies, the political sciences, ethics, and philosophy as well as palaeoanthropology and palaeobotany are joined in this research enterprise.

After the Persian power declined, the Greek expanded from the west to the east and took over the rule over ancient Near Eastern societies (chapter II. 10., The period of Hellenistic imperialism ...). What caught our attention first were once again the burial habits (chapter II. 10.1, The life of the dead: ...). The location of the burial field remained the same as before, the segregation of the dead and the living was maintained, as was the placement of the dead in simple pits. New was the entombment of the dead in clay coffins, and without exception all were buried without burial goods. Considering the above mentioned ideas about the possible connections between burial customs and the socialization and acculturation of people, it is remarkable that this change of burial customs occurred in parallel with the change of the dominating superpower. Did settlers from the Aegean reside at Kamid el-Loz, who brought their local traditions of dealing with the dead with them? This idea is supported by the insights we gained when we discovered the contemporaneous residential area, now located west of the former palace habitat. The conspicuous location of the dead in the east and the living in the west demonstrated visibly the intentional segregation between the sphere of the living and the sphere of the dead. As the pottery and especially the inscribed vessels clearly document, the residents of Ka-

mid el-Loz were closely connected to the Aegean. Again, we are studying the possible connection between the political development of the Levant and the cultural changes – the changes in the habits, needs, and options of the settlers at Kamid el-Loz to organize their daily life and their dealing with their deceased. The modified burial customs raise once again the question of whether the settlers of Kamid el-Loz might have been migrants who maintained their traditional burial customs. The reader may recall that in neighboring Mesopotamia, the life of the living and the survival of the bereaved depended, among other factors, strongly on the right attitude toward the dead and the ancestors.

Another issue that seems to indicate connections between the new imperialistic order of the region and the local cultural development should be mentioned. During the period of Greek imperialism, as during the time of Egyptian imperialism and later during the Roman occupation of the area, written texts were present at Kamid el-Loz. Were thus the political organization of imperialistic power and the development of the means of communication, now written communication, connected? Did the new form of political power as well as the long distance trade make written communication necessary? We are currently working on the issue of how knowledge emerges, develops, and disappears; that is, what the causes are that produce new knowledge or lead to the disapppearance of knowledge and traditions.

Another change became obvious when the foreign imperialistic domination began at Kamid el-Loz. There was no longer any evidence for mobile groups. Why was this so?

The Greek domination of Kamid el-Loz was succeeded by Roman imperialism (chapter II. 11, Once again, was everything new …). The first major change that was visible to us was that the separation of the sphere of the living and the dead was given up. The now valid social organization of both spheres resembled the traditions that had been ubiquitous for hundreds of years at Kamid el-Loz. On the east slope, the new settlers set up their residential area, and in the immediate neighborhood of their houses, the dead were buried. The actual burial customs changed as well. The deceased were now isolated or, in one case, placed in stone sarcophagi in groups. The close proximity of the living to the dead, however, is most surprising, considering the fact that this practice was explicitly forbidden in the core area of the Roman Empire. Why did those living at the periphery of the empire dare to violate the customs? Who established this new custom at Kamid el-Loz, new for the local site but related to the burial customs in the core area of the Roman Empire, yet at the same time clearly deviating from the practice of this core area as to where the dead should be located in relation to the living.

With the Roman domination, new forms of houses also appeared at Kamid el-Loz, new pottery forms were used, and the coins found at the settlement provide proof that an entirely new economic system was established in the area. Many innovations thus once again emerged with the establishment of a new political power. We are studying the processes that develop, the influences that are reflected in the once local traditions, customs, needs, and options of the residents when a new political development becomes sizable. Did the Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and Roman dominance over Kamid el-Loz change the lives of the local people? Who were the local people

when these empires exerted their dominance? Did the spread and onset of imperialism go hand in hand with the migration of new people? Had the superpowers relocated people from the respective core area to the peripheries to tighten control over the new political, social, cultural, and ideological orders? What happened to daily life and local customs and traditions when this form of political rule began? Who initiated the new modes dealing with the deceased and what happened to the former local traditions? What changes occurred in values, norms, needs, and options and for whom did these changes occur when the political system changed? Did people follow the modifications voluntarily, did the locals copy the new customs because it was "fashionable", or were they forced to adapt? What are the interests of the political dominators in changing cultural expressions – what is the idea behind breaking traditions and introducing new ones?

We are searching for the influence that the change of political rule had on the lives of the residents; the change in burial customs, according to our thesis, was among the major alterations to the local traditions. Another change became visible that might have affected people's daily lives. For the first time, we excavated open areas that were equipped with several *tannours*, set up side by side. Ethnological studies on today's Near Eastern societies yielded the fact that in many societies, the female "manager" of the household possesses and uses her own *tannour*, which as a rule is set up either in the courtyard or the kitchen of the house. Several *tannours* in an open space suggests a very different organization of household activities, an issue that we are currently studying. How families, households, and communities were structured; how subsistence activities as cooking, baking, and storage were organized, whether individually by each household or collaboratively by the community; and how such traditions and habits were maintained or changed are among the research topics we are working on.

Last but not least, it was during the Roman period that the settlers at Kamid el-Loz, for the first time in the history of the site, began to grow grapes and make wine, as the wine making installations at the northern and western edge of the east slope residential area indicate.

I come to the very end of the stories that together account for the history of the people of Kamid el-Loz. With our excavations, we unearthed a wide spectrum of material evidence. Intentionally, I focused at first on the architecture and spatial design. I concentrated on that, and explained why we are not alone interested in presenting, describing, and analyzing the excavated artefacts, the houses, the spatial design, and the burials, but why we ask what we can learn about the people, their wishes, their needs, and their options to shape their lives.

As I tried to show, our actual work in the field and our underlying interests lead to many insights into the social, political, economic, and cultural developments of the past. As I also tried to show, however, our research at the end perhaps raises more questions than we had at the beginning of our venture.

Our future research will thus further concentrate on considerations of how social formations develop. We are researching the role and function of traditions, norms, and values. We work on how non-verbal communication functions; we are also interested in finding out the influence of nature and

the potentials of nature on the decision of where people locate their settlements, for example. We are studying the insights of disaster research, and we deal with the question of what happens to people who survive a disaster and leave their homes or to those who live on in the rubble of a devastated settlement. We ask who the ones who come back and initiate the resettlement of a place are. We study how and why social orders collapse and how they develop, redevelop, and reemerge. We are interested in the connections between the life of the living and the life of the dead. We deal with the questions of how knowledge develops, how and why it is modified, and how and why it gets lost. We are studying the development, the preservation, and the loss of traditions. We are occupied with finding out the needs of societies, for example, the needs of those living in a hierarchically ordered society with secular and religious leaders on the top. We study what alternatives of order are possible and the options communities have to live a good life without these institutions and their representatives. We study how permanent settlers and mobile groups live together in one village or at one site. Who needs to represent a function, a status, or a role in society with the help of monumental and thus iconic buildings and via spatial design, and why? How and why do new developments come up, from whom and how do new traditions develop, and where do new ideas come from? Why do some traditions vanish, why do other remain, and what traditions are more persistent than others?

The present book is my first step to illustrate what we did during the many years of our excavations at Kamid el-Loz, what we discovered, what we recognized, and what we are asking and exploring. It is the diverse variety of aims, insights, and questions that keeps research at and for Kamid el-Loz a spirited and intellectually stimulating undertaking. Four research topics are currently projected: *Imperialism and cultural development; Urbanism and disaster; Political order and nonverbal communication;* and *The life of the living and the life of the dead*, all accompanied by the methodological question of how archaeologists investigate such themes primarily on the basis of the materialized cultural heritage.

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Chronological Chart

Period	Evidence						
	residential area west	**area west of the palace**	**palace area**	**admin-istrative area**	**temple area**	**“Kuppe area” / residential area north**	**east slope / residen-tial area east**
Roman period	-	-	-	-	-	workshop, metal, glass	residences, burials, working areas
Hellenis-tic period	-	living houses 1 and 2	-	-	-	**NEW:** working precinct	burials
IA III	Transformation of the site from a settlement to a cemetery						
IA II	Houses building period 1, building levels 3-1 building period 2, building levels 6-5/4						*tannours* in decaying remains of house 1, IA 1 and house 2, LBA II
IA I	8-9 houses building period 3, building levels 8-7						house 1
LBA II	some hous-es lived-in	pottery (trench 2)	palace P 2 / P 1	workshop	temple T 1	residential area and workshops **(b. p. 4, b. l. 10-9)**	residential area / liv-ing houses
LBA II / LBA I	some hous-es kept, some given up	pottery (trench 2)	palace P 3	workshop	temple T 2	residential area and workshops **(b. p. 5, b. l. 11)**	NEW: residential area / liv-ing houses
Late LBA I	living houses	pottery (trench 2)	palace P 4 *(elite burial, located in the Schatzhaus)*	“Schatz-haus” and workshop area to its east	temple T 3	living houses **(b. p. 5, b. l. 13)**; work-shops, cul-tic building	-
LBA I	living houses	pottery (trench 2)	palace P 5	workshop	temple T 3	living houses **(b. p. 5, b. l. 13)**; work-shops, cul-tic building	-

Period	Evidence						
	residential area west	**area west of the palace**	**palace area**	**adminis-trative area**	**temple area**	**Kuppe” area” / residential area north**	**east slope / residen-tial area east**
2nd anomie	death pit	- (trench 2)	small house, burial in the wall	*tannour*, child-burial	re-use of an installa-tion	-	-
Later MBA II	pottery, walls (trench 1)	pottery (trench 2)	architec-ture and pottery **palace) (MBP 2**	architec-ture and pottery **(phase 1)**	architec-ture and pottery **temple) (T 4** architec-ture and pottery **temple) (T 5**	architec-ture, house no. 2, forti-fication **,b. p. 6) (b. l. 14** architec-ture, house no. 1, pathway **,b. p. 6) (b. l. 16**	-
1st anomie	- (trench 1)	- (trench 2)	-	-	wall structures, fireplaces, a stone built cist grave	graves dug into the abandoned houses	-
Early MBA II	pottery (trench 1)	pottery (trench 2)	architec-ture and pottery **palace) (MBP 3**	burnt bricks and pottery **(phase 2)**	burnt bricks and pottery **temple”) (“T 6**	rooms, for-tification, pottery, two burials **(b. p. 7, b. (l. 20-17**	-
MBA I	pottery (trench 1)	pottery (trench 2)	trodden floor (trench 5) pottery (trench 3)	pottery (trench 4)	-	courtyard house **b. p. 8, b.) (l. 21**	-
EBA IV / MBA I	walls, oven, pottery (trench 1)	pottery (trench 2)	pottery (trench 3)	stone setting, pottery (trench 4)	-	-	-